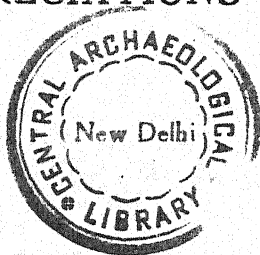


Dr. URQUHART COMMEMORATION VOLUME

ESSAYS, ADDRESSES
AND
APPRECIATIONS



PUBLISHED BY
DR. URQUHART FAREWELL COMMITTEE

Printed by
RANGA LALL DUTTA
AT THE NEW INDIAN PRESS,
6, Duff Street, Calcutta.

**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.**

Acc. No. 17373

Date..... 23.2.59

Call No. R 082/ur

IN
LOVING ADMIRATION
OF
HIS UNSELFISH DEVOTION TO DUTY
AND IN
GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE
OF
HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE
OF
EDUCATION AND CULTURE
THIS COMMEMORATION VOLUME
IS
RESPECTFULLY PRESENTED
TO

REV. WILLIAM SPENCE URQUHART,
M.A., D.D., D.Litt., D.L.

PRINCIPAL, SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE ;
EX-VICE-CHANCELLOR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

PREFACE

The Commemoration Volume owes its origin to a resolution passed at the inaugural meeting of the Dr. Urquhart Farewell Committee that the speeches and addresses of Dr. Urquhart and excerpts from the writings of Mrs. Urquhart, together with a memorandum of their public activities in the cause of education and social welfare, should be made available to their friends, admirers, colleagues and students in a single volume and that a special copy of this volume should be presented to Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart on the eve of their retirement. It was felt at that meeting that something more than a farewell gathering with speeches of valediction customary on such an occasion was needed to chronicle the distinguished services that Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart had rendered to Bengal for over one-third of a century.

With the primary object of making Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart better known through their opinions of men and things the Editors have brought together in this volume the scattered works of Dr. Urquhart and selections from the writings of Mrs. Urquhart. They hope that a perusal of the volume will afford unmistakable evidence of that resolute effort to 'see life steadily and see it whole' and to get at a comprehensive view of things without which the illustrious Professor and his wife could not have assumed constructive leadership or reconciled the conflicting claims of missionary activity and appreciation of India's indigenous culture. The Editors have appended a few appreciations of Dr. Urquhart's work not because Dr. Urquhart stands in need of any certificate or introduction to the public but because they feel that these appreciations would give Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart satisfaction at the thought that their labours have not gone unnoticed or unesteemed and that their departure would cause genuine regret in many social circles and public institutions.

The Editors place on record their gratitude to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of the Calcutta University for consenting to write the Foreword of the Commemoration Volume. Their thanks are also due to the following for the courtesy of their permission to reprint the writings and speeches of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart in this volume: Calcutta University, Patna University, Madras University, Calcutta Review, Rotary Club and Association Press of Calcutta—and also to all those who have by their advice, encouragement or contribution made the publication of the present work possible.

HARIDAS BHATTACHARYYA.

HEMCHANDRA DE.

SUHRITCHANDRA MITRA.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS.

SATYAPRIYA BISWAS.

MANINDRANATH BANERJEE.

*Members of the Editorial Board,
Dr. Urquhart Farewell Committee.*

CONTENTS

	PAGES
Preface	
Foreword by His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Sir John Anderson, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.I.E., D.L., Governor of Bengal and Chancellor, Calcutta University	
Biographical Sketch of Dr. Urquhart by Mr. S. P. Biswas, M.A., and Mr. M. N. Banerjee, M.A., Bar-at-Law	i—xix

PART I—ESSAYS

The Idea of Progress in Eastern and Western Thought	1—26
The Inner Meaning of Human History	27—53
Philosophy and Literature	54—64
The Influence of Evolution on Christian Thought	65—87
Śāṅkara and Prof. James Ward	88—97

PART II—ADDRESSES

A. Convocation Addresses :	
Calcutta Special Convocation (1928)	98—103
Calcutta Annual Convocation (1929)	104—114
Calcutta Special Convocation (1929)	115—120
Calcutta Annual Convocation (1930)	121—130
Patna University Convocation Address (1929)	131—139
B. College Day Addresses :	

	PAGES
Scottish Church College Centenary	
Celebrations (1930) .	140—146
Cuttack Ravenshaw College Annual	
Reunion of Former Students (1931) .	147—154
Lahore Forman College Jubilee	
Celebrations (1936) .	155—158
Scottish Church College Day (1936) .	159—164
C. Philosophical Congress Addresses :	
Address of the General President, Indian	
Philosophical Congress—Lahore (1929) .	165—175
Chairman's Address, Indian Philosophical	
Congress—Calcutta (1935) .	176—178
D. Educational Addresses :	
Student's Conference in Calcutta (1931) .	179—185
University Education, Calcutta Rotary Club	
Address (1933) .	186—191
Presidential Address, All-Bengal College and	
University Teachers' Conference—Faridpur	
(1934) .	192—201
E. Miscellaneous :	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee (1924) .	202—204
To The Students of the University	
of Calcutta (1930) .	205—208
Ram Mohan Roy Centenary (1932) .	209—214
The Andrew Carnegie Centenary (1935) .	215—219

PART III—SERMONS

St. John iii. 16 . . .	220—224
St. Matthew vii. 7 . . .	225—229
St. Matthew ix. 36, 37 and St. Mark vi. 34 .	230—235

	PAGES
PART IV—Extracts from the writings of Margaret M. Urquhart	239—264

PART V—APPRECIATIONS

By (i) distinguished Friends and Admirers	265—293
(ii) Colleagues	294—304
(iii) Students	305—330

APPENDIX

ILLUSTRATIONS :

- (i) Dr. Urquhart
- (ii) Duff College
- (iii) Scottish Church College
- (iv) Mrs. Urquhart
- (v) Scottish Church College Hall

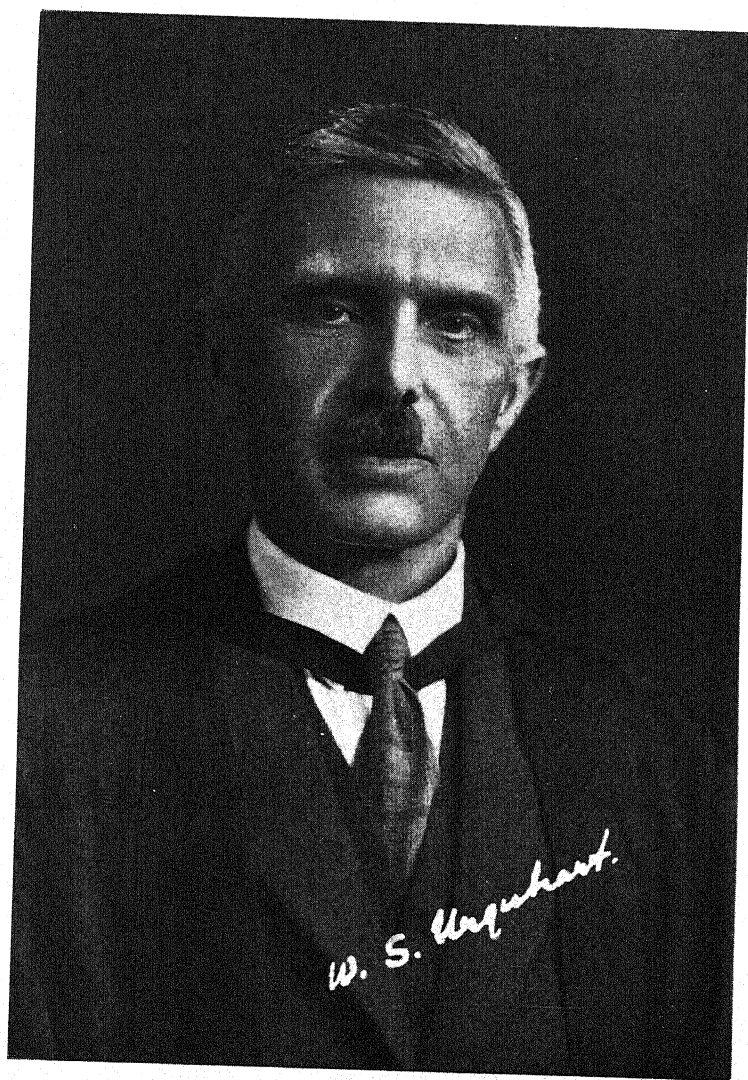


PHOTO BY BOURNE & SHEPHERD.

FOREWORD

BY

His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble
Sir John Anderson, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.I.E., D.L.,
Governor of Bengal

AND

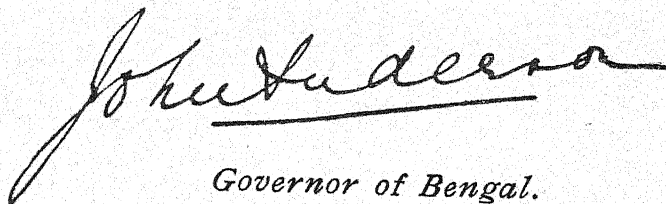
Chancellor, Calcutta University.

The work of Dr. Urquhart in the University of Calcutta and the Scottish Church College is well-known in Bengal and, though my own personal knowledge is confined to the last five years, I am keenly sensible of the value of Dr. Urquhart's thirty-five years devoted service to the people of this Province, a task in which he has been ably supported by Mrs. Urquhart. They will leave behind them a large body of friends among those who value the achievements and progress made in Educational matters in this province in the Twentieth Century.

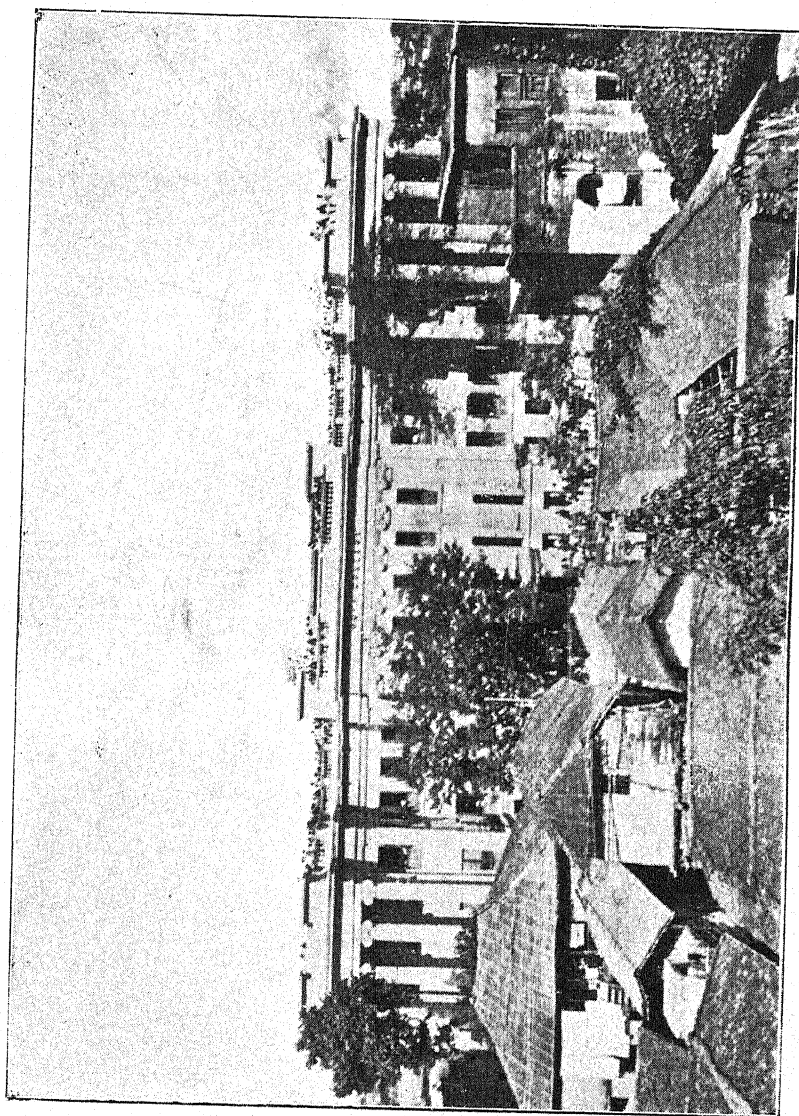
It is with much pleasure that I have undertaken to write these few lines in the form of a foreword to this Commemoration volume--a volume which I am sure will be greatly appreciated by all those into whose hands it may come.

Government House,
Calcutta.

The 5th April 1937.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'John Anderson', written over a horizontal line.

Governor of Bengal.



DUFF COLLEGE.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY MR. S. P. BISWAS, M.A., PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY,
SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE, CALCUTTA

AND

MR. M. N. BANERJEE, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW

This is the first attempt to estimate the life and work of the well-known Scottish Missionary, Dr. W. S. Urquhart of Calcutta, and this brief sketch does not pretend to be a complete biography. It is an effort to blend together the personal reminiscences of some of his Indian friends and may serve to recall some of the more outstanding features of the personality which has exercised so elevating and inspiring an influence upon them.

The subject of this sketch has been unwilling to furnish to the writers biographical notes of what he calls his undistinguished childhood and youth. So we have been obliged to steal a march on him and procure from his wife an outline of the years previous to the period of our own acquaintance with him. We wish to acknowledge the debt we owe to her.

Mrs. Urquhart tells us that her own efforts from time to time to dig into Dr. Urquhart's past are met with an assurance that he is one of those blessed people who have no history and that the simple annals of his earliest years are not worth making the effort to recollect or record. We have noticed it as a characteristic of Dr. Urquhart's that he is more concerned with other persons than with himself.

William Spence Urquhart was born, the youngest of the three sons, on May 8th, 1877 in Southampton. His parents were both Scottish and their residence in England was of only a few years' duration. On his father's side he belonged to the sixth generation of clergymen of the Scottish Church. On his

mother's side he was descended from an engineer of some note, his great-grandfather, who constructed, among other well-known works, two bridges familiar to every Scotsman, the Dean Bridge in Edinburgh and the Broomielaw in Glasgow; the Forth and Clyde Canal, and the Aberdeen Harbour, still a busy centre of the world's traffic. Two distinguished great-grandsons of this engineering ancestor, who followed the same bent are Sir Alexander Gibb of Rosyth fame and the late Sir George Gibb of the "Tube" railways, who, although trained as a solicitor, seemed to find his true vocation in the brilliant management of railway systems. Clerical ancestry appear on this side also, but the practical element is strong in Dr. Urquhart's nature and may account for his love of planning and constructing buildings in connection with the College and Mission.

Dr. Urquhart's mother died in his early infancy, and at the age of three months he was taken to Scotland, his career as an Englishman being thus of the briefest. Later in his boyhood, and throughout the greater part of his life, the influence of an affectionate English step-mother kept English contacts and interests alive. But Aberdeenshire, the home of his forebears, early set its stamp upon him. His father, the Rev. Robert Urquhart, was called to a church in the small burgh of Old Meldrum. Here, with his brothers, William attended the local school until the age of twelve. His first teacher was a lady of the old village-mistress type who, until her death at a great age, corresponded with many of her early pupils. A schoolfellow of Dr. Urquhart's at Old Meldrum was Robert Rait who, as Sir Robert Rait, held the position of Principal of Glasgow University until his death. He remained a lifelong friend. This little school started on their educational career these two who were contemporary Vice-chancellors of two great Universities.

Dr. Urquhart's education continued at old Aberdeen Grammar School, Gordon's College and Aberdeen University from which he graduated M.A. in 1897 with First-class Honours in Philosophy and with the Fullerton Scholarship.

Life was not made easy for the schoolboy, who had to travel daily by train, beginning in his 12th year, from his home to the town. In the winter months he left home before daylight and returned after dark so that playtime was only a summer possibility. But the son of a Scottish Manse, where life was simple and frugal, was expected to take a serious share in the duties of house and garden, such as the care of his father's pony and trap, and the chopping and storing of wood blocks for fires. He continued to be a lover of horses, and riding was a favourite form of exercise whenever possible. These and other homely tasks supplied so much exercise that games were hardly necessary. Country expeditions were in those days a favourite form of recreation and developed the walking and climbing powers which have been put to good purpose by Dr. Urquhart on Himalayan holidays. Dr. Urquhart's good health and equable temperament are partly due no doubt to the establishment of healthy habits in youth which he has kept up all his life—walking, swimming, tennis, golf still hold attractions for him and at the College tennis club nothing pleases him more than to score a victory off his younger colleagues.

In preparation for the ministry of the Church, which was his chosen vocation, Dr. Urquhart's graduation in Arts was followed by the Divinity course of four years at New College, Edinburgh, the home of much fine scholarship in Biblical subjects. Among the chief influences of his life was the teaching of Professor Davidson of the Hebrew Chair, a profound student and a man of unique personality. Davidson was himself the product of Scotland's native system of schools

and Universities, and had an understanding, born of experience, of the members of his classes similarly educated and brought up in the country districts. Davidson was famed for his modesty, and towards the close of his life as a professor, on the occasion of a public testimonial, uttered words which we can imagine his pupil echoing as he leaves India: "In these short years I may, perhaps, have been able to guide some whose feet were stumbling on the dark mountains. And it is enough."

At New College Dr. Urquhart proved himself an enthusiastic student and finished with an Honours Diploma in Theology and a Cunningham Fellowship. For a time he studied and travelled in Germany at Marburg and Göttingen—in France and Norway, acquiring a student's knowledge of German and French. He has read extensively in these languages all his life although never acquiring ease in the speaking of them. In Germany he attended the lectures of men like Prof. Rudolf Otto, Hermann, and others, coming into contact with the critical tendencies of the day in Biblical research at their German fountainhead, and with the thorough-going German method of investigation. After this time of wandering, he settled down to his calling as a minister by becoming assistant in one of the Edinburgh churches. A few months later Dr. George Smith, the biographer of Dr. Duff, and at one time editor, in Calcutta, of the *Friend of India*, accosted the young preacher and invited him to consider appointment to the Philosophy staff of Duff College, Calcutta. The idea of service of the Church abroad had not, up to this time, presented itself to Dr. Urquhart's mind. But the invitation was a challenge, and he set about facing it honestly. His former professors, when consulted, discouraged the idea on the ground that the Church at home was in special need at that time of men with

philosophically trained minds. It was a senior friend of a peculiarly saintly character who emphasised a different point of view and reinforced Dr. Urquhart's own sense of the urgency of this invitation, coming unsought as it had done.

Perhaps the hardest thing to overcome was his own father's unwillingness to let him go. One brother had died, the other settled in England, and the youngest son was to be the one to carry on the Scottish tradition of "a minister in the family" as there had always been. But India's claim prevailed and it seems as if the decision had not been in vain. The work he has done as a missionary in India, his achievements in the field of education, the personal contacts he has been able to establish, the friendships he has formed with the sons and daughters of India, all go to show that what was Scotland's loss proved to be India's gain.

Duff College in 1902, when Dr. Urquhart joined the staff, was in a state of transition. Negotiations for union with the General Assembly's Institution in Cornwallis Square were shortly afterwards commenced and the actual union was completed in 1908. In the practical organisation of union affairs, transference of the Duff College Library and other assets, and all such necessary arrangements the new young member of staff worked hard. There was an atmosphere of excitement, change, and fresh beginnings stimulating to young mind which called his energies into vigorous play. His senior colleagues realised at once that the new man was a worker, and no one tried to prevent him from working! There was no settled Principal of Duff College after the departure of Dr. Hector, and responsibilities for the carrying out of the practical details of the amalgamation of the colleges were divided between the men of action like Tomory, Watt, and Urquhart, and the dreamers like Stephen and Scrimgeour.

Three years after reaching Calcutta he married Miss Macaskill who had joined the Women's Foreign Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland in Calcutta in 1900 and a home was established which was to be for many years a centre of brightness and hospitality in the Mission. Mrs. Urquhart soon proved herself to be a gracious and charming hostess who knows almost instinctively how to put a guest at his or her ease. She made her home a place where Europeans and Indians alike were always sure of welcome and kindness.

But Mrs. Urquhart's reputation does not depend solely on the qualities mentioned above. Mrs. Urquhart has been long known as an accomplished writer. Her books, notably *Women of Bengal*, written by request with a view in the first instance to helping Missionaries and others to gain an insight into the minds of the people of this land have had a wide popularity. They reveal a sympathetic outlook on the customs and traditions as well as the difficulties and problems of Bengali life.

Recently Mrs. Urquhart has been editor of "Conference" the quarterly paper of the Church of Scotland Missions in India, and gives it up only on her husband's retirement from India. She has also from time to time contributed articles to such well-known papers as *The Weekly Westminster*, *The Statesman*, *Other Lands*, *The Challenge* and others.

In his early years Dr. Urquhart was expected to lecture in English, Civics, and even Sanitary Science, but Philosophy continued to be his lodestar and he began to work at the thesis which in the course of ten years of labour took shape as *Pantheism and the Value of Life* for which he was awarded the Degree of D. Phil. by Aberdeen University. He was one of the only two men who ever received this particular recognition from Aberdeen University. When the University

introduced the new degree of Ph.D., the D. Phil. holders were given the option of changing their title to D. Litt. which Dr. Urquhart chose to do.

Other books published during this period were *The Upanishads and Life*, *The Historical and Eternal Christ*, and, at a later stage, *Theosophy and Christian Thought*. His final volume *The Vedanta and Modern Thought* was written at a much later stage in his life. Dr. Urquhart was invited by its new management to edit *The Calcutta Review* which had been revived in 1913 after all but lapsing. He carried it on for eight years and had opportunities of coming into contact with competent writers on Indian subjects of many kinds. This work, although interesting, was no light task. Eventually the management of the paper was taken over by the University which still produces it in a somewhat altered form and in the character more of a University Journal than a general review.

As a Professor of Philosophy Dr. Urquhart has been an example to many a teacher of that sublime subject. As a thinker of a high order, as a man who believes in translating the principles of thought into action, as a worthy follower of a band of devoted servants of India Dr. Urquhart's fame soon spread in Bengal and succeeded in attracting the very best students of the province to the Scottish Church College. No other College in Bengal has, up to now, seriously disputed the pre-eminent place of this College in the teaching of Philosophy. For years past, before the Post-graduate teaching work was undertaken by the Calcutta University, the Scottish Churches College had the distinction of carrying on Post-graduate classes in the subject of Philosophy—work in which Dr. Urquhart took a very large part. In those days any student who wanted to study Philosophy came to Cornwallis Square. And for many

a year now the Scottish Church College has given to Bengal the largest number of graduates in Philosophy—graduates who have obtained the highest laurels of the Universities both here and abroad and have rendered and are rendering conspicuous service to Bengal and other provinces in many spheres.

Nor has Dr. Urquhart taught Philosophy merely to the students of his own College. Ever since the Calcutta University undertook post-graduate teaching work he has been one of the University lecturers in the subject. For many years, formerly in his own College, and latterly at the University, he has taught hundreds of students the principles of Religion and Morals; and anyone seeing him at his work, either in the College or at the University, would at once say that he invariably brought to his task not merely a cultured mind but also a measure of zest which more than anything else, stimulated the attention of his students as their teacher unravelled the beauties of Ethics and Religion. His method, more direct and rational than historical, has been to make an immediate appeal to the mind of the student and evoke in him a critical, rather than chronological, interest in the subject.

With the retirement of the late Rev. Dr. John Watt in 1928, Dr. Urquhart was appointed Principal of the College. Though this honour was nothing less than his due, to his immediate students in the Philosophy department of the College it came as somewhat of a disappointment. To them it meant the loss of a scholar in the classrooms; for Principal Urquhart, they thought, would be primarily occupied with the manifold and exacting administrative affairs of the College with which a Principal is usually concerned. What, therefore, turned out, in latter years, to be a great benefit to the College as a whole was, in many respects, a distinct loss to the Philosophy Department. Principal Urquhart had now to confine himself

to teaching work in the B.A. Honours and Post-graduate classes only. Thousands of general Philosophy students, at the time, considered themselves unfortunate thus to be deprived of the advantages of his most valuable lectures in the College class rooms. To the immediate few in the Honours and Post-graduate classes, however, Dr. Urquhart continued to be a fountain of knowledge and inspiration.

Great as has been his achievement as a teacher, his work as Principal has been of no mean order. In the mind of the public of Bengal, to-day, the names of Dr. Urquhart and the Scottish Church College have come to be so inseparably associated that the one at once serves to conjure up the other. The College, before as well as after Dr. Urquhart became its Principal, has been expanding in every direction. Much of this expansion is due to him. Even as a Professor he shaped the policy of the College in its *Senatus*, and contributed, in a great measure, to the progress the College has attained in various directions.

The achievements of the College have been multifarious. In the early days of the Scottish Churches College there were only two Hostels for men students—the Duff and the Lady Jane Dundas. Since then the Duff has undergone considerable additions and alterations—a new three-storied block having been added to it and the Hostel having been partly reconstructed to make room for St. Andrew's Hostel for the boarders of the Collegiate School. Additions have been made to the Dundas which has now been converted into a Women's Hostel. Other Hostels such as the Ogilvie, the Tomory, and the Wann have been built since 1908. Dr. Urquhart had a very great share in building and equipping these Hostels. The Hostels of the Scottish Church College are handsome structures, bright, commodious and airy—serving as examples to many an institution

of like nature in this city. No other College can boast of so many beautiful residences for men and women students. They are orderly, hygienic and well-managed, giving their inmates most of the amenities of life and, above all, a sense of that security and quiet essential to study.

A very remarkable achievement of this period was the acquisition of the Playing Field at Manicktolla across the Canal—an achievement in which Dr. Watt, the then Principal, had the greatest assistance possible from Dr. Urquhart. It has added greatly to the health and happiness of generations of students. The College building itself has undergone many changes since Dr. Urquhart assumed the office of the Principal. He has added a large new block of classrooms and is at present building another storey to this block. The fine Library will now be more adequately housed. The old College Hall, so familiar to generations of Old boys, has been altered beyond recognition. The new Hall, large, airy and bright, has been built out of funds raised by Dr. Urquhart and is an achievement with which his name will always be associated.

In 1930 Dr. Urquhart as Principal, celebrated the Centenary of the College in a fitting manner. It was in this year, too, that owing to the union of the Churches in Scotland the plural ending in the name of the College was dropped. The Centenary of a College is an outstanding and memorable event in its life. More so when, as in the case of the Scottish Church College, it serves to remind one of a century of disinterested service in the cause of culture and education. The many messages of congratulation and goodwill which the College received testify to the great regard in which it is held throughout India.

Nor have the improvements effected by Dr. Urquhart been merely to the College Buildings and College Hostels. There has

been notable progress in the work of its various departments. New subjects have been introduced giving greater facilities of study to the alumni. Quite recently the College has added a department of Zoology to its Science section. Further, with the assistance of the Government of Bengal, teaching for the Degree of Bachelor of Training for women has been organised. This latter department has within a short space of time proved most useful and successful. Women students, in large numbers, are seeking admission to the classes.

Speaking of women students one is at once reminded of a very notable achievement of the Scottish Church College, namely, the introduction of systematic undergraduate co-education. In former years there had been one or two women students reading in men's Colleges in Calcutta, but co-education in the proper sense of that term was absent before this College adopted it as a definite policy. It was in the term of Dr. Watt that co-education was first introduced in the College. Dr. Urquhart encouraged it whole-heartedly and it is largely through the combined efforts of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart that it has attained its present popularity and magnitude. Mrs. Urquhart has always proved herself to be a worthy help-mate to her husband. Her knowledge of the life of Bengal's women enabled her to take a real share in the new experiment and its preliminary "safeguards".

The experiment, started in this College with a handful of women students, shy and timid at first in surroundings where the masculine element predominated soon proved very successful. Doubts regarding the success of the experiment were quickly dispelled by the growing number of girls seeking admission to the College. The number went on increasing steadily, proving, if proof were needed, the confidence of parents and guardians in the discipline which obtains

within the College and the soundness of the teaching imparted there. Believing in the necessity of co-education under proper supervision, Dr. Urquhart and his colleagues and especially the women members of staff have bestowed considerable care and attention to this venture, and it is no exaggeration to say that but for this constant zeal and solicitude the experiment, in the face of doubt and misgivings, could not have proved the success it has been. Emboldened by the success of co-education in this College, other institutions in the city have now thrown open their doors to women students, although not to the same extent nor in the same way. The Scottish Church College as the premier co-educational institution has stood its ground and has worthily maintained its lead in this enterprise to the great advantage of the students of Bengal.

No account of Dr. Urquhart's work as Principal can be complete without a word about his constant endeavour to foster a spirit of comradeship amongst the students of the College through its seminars and societies. Both as professor and as Principal he has been intimately connected with the various student residences and activities. The Philosophical Society, in particular, has had the advantage of his constant help and guidance. For many years he has been the pivot of this Society and through it he has helped many a student to cultivate powers of independent thinking. He has been, moreover, a patron of all College societies and has again and again given his time and energy in guiding their efforts. The recent Student Union owes its existence to the kindly interest Dr. Urquhart has always taken in all the legitimate aspirations of the students.

Thus for 35 years Dr. Urquhart has lived and moved amongst the young people of Bengal—the most responsive and

the most impressionable of all races in India—studying their needs and desires in matters intellectual and spiritual, giving them help, guidance and advice, and holding before them a very high ideal of service. He has understood, as few European professors understand, the mind of Bengali students. They first want to know if the new professor really cares for them and sincerely sympathises with them. They are very sensitive on this point and very often efforts to train their intellect are frustrated unless the affections of the heart have been won.

Dr. Urquhart has always been alive to the necessity of building the character of the students, and his conception of education is much broader, embracing more than the mere imparting of routine instruction or the training of the intellect. He threw himself with great enthusiasm into the teaching of the Bible class. He gave religious teaching with real living human interest, never forgetting that here the chief part of his work must lie.

It falls to the lot of few men absorbed in University and College work of an exacting nature to take an active part in the public life of the country. But Dr. Urquhart has been a welcome exception to this rule. Unlike most of his countrymen he has taken a great deal of interest in general affairs. Often he has addressed meetings of students in Overtoun Hall, the Calcutta University Institute and other places, presided over student gatherings and taken active part in public functions organised to honour the memory of India's great sons. He has been closely associated with the work of the Y.M.C.A., the Calcutta University Institute and such other organisations in this city. His presence at all such functions has always been a great asset to the organisers and his winsome personality and pleasant manner of speaking have attracted the admiration and commanded the respect of all.

Dr. Urquhart has always been regarded as one of the leaders in the general policy of the Calcutta University and his help in many important matters has been generously given and much appreciated. He was appointed a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1916, and soon afterwards became a member of the Syndicate and has continued to be so for the last 20 years. He was called upon to assume the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1928 at a time which was full of anxiety to all those who had the true interests of education at heart. His successors will regard his work for the re-organisation of the University as being his most signal service. This work demanded the closest study of all the details of University Post-graduate staffing and Finance and necessitated the holding of nearly eighty special Committee meetings, as well as protracted sittings of Senate before the practically unanimous approval of the University was obtained. Another change accomplished during his tenure of office was the setting up of an Arbitration Board which has given the teachers of secondary schools a great sense of security. The next was the scheme for the establishment of a Special Board for Secondary Education. To further which a committee was appointed to formulate the views of the University upon the subject. These views represent an adjustment of the tradition which left secondary education in a position of somewhat uncertain equilibrium between the control of the Education Department and the University. A further achievement of Dr. Urquhart's as Vice-Chancellor was the introduction of extra-mural lectures. It was during his term of office that the University witnessed with relief, the introduction of a new atmosphere of harmony and mutual confidence which greatly enhanced the effectiveness of the University's work in the administration of its affairs and the working of its staff.

Besides provincial University interests, he exercised his gifts in a wider field as member, and chairman of the Inter-University Board of India, as a delegate to the Congress of Universities of the Empire. In the more general affairs of Missions he was a member of the Board of Higher Christian Education and of Bengal and Assam Christian Council. In the management of Church of Scotland Mission affairs, in Women's Mission he has for many years been re-elected to the annual office of Chairman of Council—all of these involving the expenditure of time and thought, a grasp of detail and policy and occasionally journeys to distant parts of India.

Dr. Urquhart accepted the opportunities offered of preaching regularly in Duff Church and occasionally Wellesley or St. Andrew's Churches at the services on Sundays. His sermons gave evidence not only of scholarship and originality of thought which convinced the man of intellect, but also of a faith and devotion which appealed to all. His preaching has influenced and heightened the spiritual life of the community and his addresses are amongst the cherished memories of many an individual.

Dr. Urquhart was not content with keeping his College up to a high level and infusing into it as much of the Christian spirit and teaching as possible, but found additional ways of making his mission a reality. He has held a weekly Sunday class for the students and young men after the service in Duff Church—and during the full session in College the attendance at his Bible Class has been increasingly large.

But the numbers alone give but an inadequate idea of what the class meant to a considerable body of young men generation after generation. Most of the present office-bearers of Duff Church were as young men members of his Bible Class. Many would acknowledge willingly their debt of deep gratitude to Dr. Urquhart for the help given them during the

most critical period of their life—the days of adolescence so full of ‘storm and stress’—the time when the need for friendly guidance and sympathetic forbearance is perhaps the greatest.

Dr. Urquhart took upon himself this voluntary piece of work and conducted the class every Sunday in spite of very heavy and often tiring duties during the week, never failing in his task unless away from the town. Surely this bears a wonderful testimony to a life truly devoted to the service of others, the life of a true missionary who never spares himself and whose motto is ‘service above self’.

This brief account will be incomplete if we fail to mention Mrs. Urquhart’s name in connection with the young women’s Bible Class which she used to conduct as her husband did that for young men. There are many generations of young women to bear witness to the fact that they found this Bible Class to be a source of inspiration and strength. They used to look forward to this class every week, often wondering how Mrs. Urquhart seemed to understand so exactly their problems and their particular needs.

Some years back Dr. Urquhart used to hold a study-circle late in the evening for those older men who worked in the offices and elsewhere. Many of them must remember with gratitude and pleasure those quiet evenings at the Urquhart’s house where they used to have many a discussion over a cup of tea thoughtfully supplied by the mistress of the house. Another gathering, known as the Theological Circle met at intervals, for several years in Dr. Urquhart’s house. It was a miniature Parliament of Religions and discussions of a searching and serious kind took place over papers delivered by members of the Hindu and Brahmo, as well as Christian communities. Among the regular members of the Circle were Principal Vidyabhusan of the Sanskrit College, Dr. Chunilal Bose and Rai Bahadurs Hem

Chunder Dey and, Khagendra Nath Mitter, Dr. J. N. Farquhar and Mr. Steinthal.

Dr. Urquhart took over charge of Duff Church from Dr. Watt two or three years after coming out to India during a period when there was no pastor and continued his services to the Church as an elder till the day of his retirement.

Dr. Urquhart was always looked upon as a leader in the Church and constantly lent a hand at the helm of affairs. Ministers have come and gone, but Dr. Urquhart was always there and to him the Church turned for guidance and help. Most of the members of Duff Church looked upon it as a special privilege if they could get Dr. Urquhart to officiate in christening or marriage ceremony connected with their family.

Services such as these have left Duff Church under a deep obligation to one who has proved their great benefactor and true friend, services that she will always remember with affection, reverence and gratitude.

Dr. Urquhart's position in educational and missionary work made his house a rendezvous for people noted in these spheres. Among visitors who have lived under his roof were the great Sanskritist Dr. Oldenburg, the distinguished theological writer Dr. Rudolf Otto, Prof. Cannay of Manchester, Dr. Webb of Oxford, Prof. Gregory of Glasgow, the master of Balliol and others, to whom he was always glad to offer the unpretentious hospitality of his home.

But one cannot be content merely with reciting Dr. Urquhart's qualifications as an educationalist or with speaking about his activities as a missionary. It is largely because of our admiration for his personal qualities that we bring our tributes of praise and gratitude to him on the eve of his departure from this country. Unostentatious in his ways, kind, considerate and courteous in his dealings, dignified

and yet modest in his manners, Dr. Urquhart has been very impressive as a man. Having a philosophic calm imprinted upon his thoughtful countenance, a kindly smile always playing on his lips, he has drawn near him even the most timid among his charges and won their unwavering love and respect. Devotion, sincerity and sound judgment were the chief features of his character—and the last named was an important trait. There are many who are equally sincere, equally devoted but few who are able to grapple with difficulties with a readiness to be convinced that there are two sides to every question. Qualities such as these won him the respect and loyalty of his colleagues.

Amongst the many farewell meetings organised by students, ex-students, Bengali Christians, fellow-missionaries, friends and others, there was one that deserves special mention, and that was the very touching meeting at which the servants of the College bade him farewell. It was an unprecedented event and every one who was at the meeting felt how great were their loyalty and respect for Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart and how their departure filled these men with a sense of personal loss and grief. Amongst the various student organisations and societies which presented addresses paying their homage of reverence and gratitude and other institutions bringing their tributes of praise to Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart, the following may be specially mentioned :

the Scottish Church College Christian Union, the Scottish Church College Hindi Literary Society, the Scottish Church College Women Students, the Scottish Church College Fourth year Students, the Lady Jane Dundas Hostel, the Calcutta University Students' Philosophical Society, the Modern Students' League, the Budge-Budge Congregation, and the Scottish Church College Union.

His departure is greatly regretted by all educationists in Bengal and outside of it, by all those who have the interest of the student community at heart, by the student community not only

in Bengal but in India. There is many an individual who looked up to him as his trusted friend and guide, to whom it must seem that the gap that he leaves behind will never be filled.

S. P. B.

M. N. B.

Selected
Speeches and Writings
of
Rev. Dr. W. S. URQUHART,
M.A., D.Litt., D.D., D.L.

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN EASTERN AND WESTERN THOUGHT*

It is fitting that I should first of all express my indebtedness to the University of Calcutta for having appointed me to this lectureship, associated as it is with the name of one who was very highly respected in all academic circles in this part of India, and one whom I had the privilege of having as a colleague during many years. In my choice of a subject I have not been consciously influenced by considerations of appropriateness either to the lectureship or the lecturer, but, still, it may be pointed out that this title does in a sense link together the subjects of history and philosophy. Progress is essentially embodied or exemplified in history, either cosmic or human, and Professor Adharchandra Mookerjee was a teacher of history; whereas the analysis of the idea underlying progress is primarily a philosophical task, and it has been the lot of the lecturer to occupy himself more or less with the study of philosophical problems.

It is from the philosophical point of view that I should like to approach this topic, if it is in my power to do so; and philosophical study means trying to see both sides of a problem, and, after setting forth the contradictory aspects, either endeavouring to reconcile them in a higher unity or arriving at some decision between them. And so I have set the question in the form of a suggested comparison between Eastern and Western modes of thought upon this idea of progress, and it is all to the good that such comparisons should be made. We have suffered too long and too seriously from allowing our thoughts to move only

*Reprint of the "Adharchandra Mukherjee Lectures for 1930" delivered at the Calcutta University.

in the one groove, suggested by our particular nationality or tradition, and it is well that we should remind ourselves of this. Max Müller long ago warned his countrymen of the narrowness which might result from too exclusive occupation with Greek or Roman or Jewish thought, and hinted that they might obtain from India "that correction which is wanted to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal." (*India, What It can teach us?*, p. 6.) I have no doubt that similar quotations might be found in Indian writers showing that they were aware of the benefits which might be derived from participation in the cultural tradition of the West. While not unaware of unity, we must, if we possess the scientific spirit, be ready, to welcome, use, and honour the diversities which actually exist. I do not agree with the trite saying that "comparisons are odious;" they only become so when they are associated with superiority on the one hand or on the other, when the rôles of teacher and taught become fixed and are not regarded as interchangeable or as a matter of fact ever changed.

But I do not wish to suggest that in this matter the East and the West should be set over against each other, as if they were the upholders of diametrically opposite conceptions, so opposite that one, *viz.*, the Eastern, is currently supposed to involve the absolute denial of progress. This statement of the relationship is much too simple, and at the same time, much too abrupt. There has been too frequent a use—and abuse—of the phrases, "the Unchanging East," and "the Progressive West." Neither East nor West has the monopoly of permanence or of change. A little patience and scientific procedure will convince the student of the necessity of allowing for cross-division, and, if he unfortunately starts out with mutually exclusive preconceived notions, he will be convinced that both analysis of thought and investigation of history show the interplay in both East

and West of the permanent and the changing. Still, it must be allowed that, on the whole, greater emphasis has in the East been laid upon the permanent, whereas in the West the timefactor has received a more considerable share of attention.

In any analysis of the idea of progress we must distinguish the two factors to which I have already referred—the relation to change on the one hand and to the permanent on the other. Progress is a synthetic idea, unintelligible or misunderstood except through this synthesis. From this two consequences follow. In the first place progress has to be distinguished clearly from mere process. This is a distinction which has not always been made, and much confusion has thereby resulted in our idea of progress and in our location of it within different systems of thought. But it will be evident that while process can be interpreted fairly adequately within the form of time, progress, as has just been said, requires the two factors, the relation to change and the relation to the permanent, for its full understanding. It is always the attempt to realise within time something that is essentially above time, and that belongs to a different world from the world of mere change. Another consequence is that progress can be properly understood only if we view it through a proper understanding of human nature. Again much trouble would have been saved if this method of approach had been chosen, for as was said long ago by Heraclitus "Nothing is so inimical to progress as a false opinion of progress." Man has a double consciousness, the consciousness of being a creature at once of time and of eternity. Man never is blest but always hopes to be, and whatever he attains to he strives to go beyond. It is through this conception that he interprets the idea of progress. It can be understood only as associated with purpose. It is the realisation in time of that which is not as yet in time, but which nevertheless *is* in the sense that it is above time or beyond time. At any given

stage the new stage is something more than the preceding stage. It can be understood only as the importation of something additional, some working upon the process of that which is more than the process, some conception of an ideal, some apprehension of a greater whole, in short, of purpose. Development, which cast such a glamour over the earlier adherents of evolutionism, cannot be understood except through the operation of the two theoretically distinguishable factors which are disclosed in purpose. It is this alone which can unify the sciences, by introducing into the organic and physiological sphere concepts taken from the mental world, and again by preventing the artificial and abstract isolation of physics and chemistry by the introduction into them of categories of the organic world.

But the presence of these two factors in progress introduces a difficulty which can perhaps best be illustrated by reference to the fundamental problem of ethics. The moral struggle is for the attainment of an ideal of character or service, which has not yet been reached. The struggle is serious enough and real, but the supply of energy available for it is dependent upon the presence of something additional to and greater than the struggle itself. We must have a certain amount of confidence in the result. We cannot contemplate with equanimity a struggle prolonged to infinity. There must be times at which we can mentally cease from the process and find confidence in the thought that something has been eternally accomplished. And in the long run we must have the assurance that reality is receptive of our efforts, that we are not simply playing with imaginary constructions but drawing down into the region of actualisation something that belongs to the permanent structure of the universe. Moral distinctions must be based on reality. As Lotze says, "That which should be or ought to be must have a reality distinct from that which should not be." Or as Prof. A. E. Taylor says, "There must be a sense in

which we can be really in fruition, permanently established in a good beyond which there is no better. The distinctively ethical life is not merely successive. In proportion to its moral worth, it is a life which is undergoing a steady elevation and transformation from the mere successiveness of a simply animal existence to the whole and simultaneous fruition of all good which would be the eternity of the divine. As we rise in the moral scale, under the drawing of conceptions of good more and more adequate to sustain intelligent aspiration, living itself steadily takes on more and more a "form of eternity." (*Faith of a Moralist*, Vol. I, Chapter 9.)

But here the ethical dilemma presents itself in all its abruptness, and it is the same dilemma as is concealed in the complex problem of progress in general. If we concentrate attention on the approach towards the goal, in which journey morality essentially consists, then morality never seems to be victorious. Or, to put the matter another way, morality without religion, which is essentially interested in the ultimate attainment, is unresting, unsuccessful. If, on the other hand, morality succeeds, and attains to the goal, morality itself disappears. In becoming successful morality seems to destroy itself. How are we to choose between these two apparently exclusive conceptions unless we can discover some method of mediation?

I think it would not be unfair to say that in general Eastern thought places the emphasis upon the goal rather than upon the journey towards it, in relation both to the moral problem and to the idea of progress in general. It concentrates attention upon the permanent rather than upon the changing, to such an extent as to lead to a minimising or a denial of the reality of progress. The difficulties associated with progress are so great and so numerous, that it seems better to many Eastern thinkers on the whole to turn thought away from it altogether.

We shall consider a little later some of the methods by which thought is given this non-temporal direction, but in the meantime, lest we be guilty of the onesidedness which I deprecated at the beginning of this paper, we may note that a sense of the overwhelming difficulty of conceiving or establishing progress is by no means confined exclusively to Eastern speculation. It has been characteristic of much recent writing in the West as well. It has been frequently pointed out that it is difficult for us to look back over time and assert simply and positively that there has been progress. Hobhouse, *e.g.*, says that he was never "one of those who think that the general fact of progress may be readily assumed, or that mankind constantly advances to higher things by an automatic law which can be left to itself." (*Development and Purpose*, p. xxi.) To many it has seemed that the attempt to detect an upward progress is nothing more or less than a dealing with illusions. While there may be progress on the part of individuals, there certainly cannot be progress on the whole. The Platonic tradition that value lies only with the permanent world of ideas, as contrasted with the fleeting world of sense, is hard α -dying. Bradley can tell us even in the nineteenth century that "Nothing perfect, nothing genuinely real, can move; the Absolute has no seasons, but all at once bears its leaves, fruits and blossoms." (*Appearance and Reality*, p. 500). Lord Morley, that somewhat weary observer of the world's proceedings, suggests that no other conception of history is possible than one which denies the possibility of progress. And Dean Inge, after rather cynically showing that a belief in progress is a recent discovery of the human spirit, and after having proved to his own satisfaction the harmfulness and utter futility of the belief, points out that all beliefs of this kind have had their day and ceased to be. The illegitimacy of the alliance between evolution and progress has been discovered,

thanks to Huxley and his followers, and can no longer deceive men either in politics or religion. "The notion," he says, "that evolution is an automatic machine bringing in the millennium made the attractiveness of naturalism for the nineteenth century, but there is no progress in the whole, nor can we assume that the more complex is always higher than the simple" (p. 94). We must resist the temptation to think that our ideals will be justified by their actual realisation at some future date. But—and this is worth nothing for our main purpose—Dean Inge's pessimism about external progress does not have the effect of producing pessimism in general. It simply leads him to look elsewhere for the criterion of reality or of value. He refuses to allow that a belief is made true by the fact that it succeeds, but neither does he allow that a belief is made untrue because it does not succeed. The test of value is outside of time; so with him as with Eastern writers, the emphasis tends to be laid upon the permanent.

And then, urging us in the negative direction, there is the disconcerting fact of ennui, which finds such frequent expression now-a-days. The most ardent admirers of and the most active participators in progress seem so easily to reach the position, immediately after an outstanding success, of asking the question, "Where do we go from hence? What next?" If the question cannot be answered, the futility of all the movement which had brought them to that position is exhibited. The question is asked "Why did we ever begin the movement?" and dissatisfaction drives men once more from the fleeting to the permanent.

Let us now turn more specifically to the idea of progress in Eastern and Indian thought. As I have said, if any general statement can be made, it would seem to be that to Indian thought the difficulties in the way of conceiving external progress are so great, that it is felt to be better to deny it altogether

by going beyond the sphere of the external and denying the possibility of the conditions under which progress might be possible. What progress there may be is internal, it is said, the movement of the soul on the way of escape, its refinement until it may fade into the Absolute, when all desire for what we call progress will disappear, and the restlessness which makes a man wish always to go beyond that which he has already attained, will no longer trouble the calm of his contemplative spirit.

Indian thought has always been more interested in unity than in diversity. "One-pointedness" is the indispensable condition of true penetration into reality, and he who would understand the secrets of the universe must always show a preference for the intuitive over the discursive in the methods of thought and for intensity to extensity in the knowledge which is sought after or attained. The consequence of this is a diminution of that interest in particular individuals or events which is the spring of action; and, when there is no incentive to action, there can be little or no appreciation of the need of progress, for progress is distinguished from process in that the former is conceived as a task or vocation of humanity, whereas the latter is merely an order inherent in the being of the world.

Another influence which may have helped in the direction of the depreciation of progress is the conception of the nature of philosophical development. In Western philosophical history a leading philosopher may set forth a system of thought in fairly complete form. This will not be normative for his successor except in so far as it affords material for criticism and a starting point for further development. However much repetition there may be owing to the fundamental similarity of human nature and the limitations of human thought, the ideal certainly is that our little systems should have their day and cease to be, giving

place to that which, presumably, marks an advance to a more adequate conception of reality. In India, I venture to suggest, the case is different. Throughout the course of development a school of philosophy is dominated by certain leading ideas which continue to be normative. The development itself consists in growing adequacy of interpretation and the adjustment of traditional doctrines to opposing tendencies which had appeared at a later date. This may have been a method which led to great philosophical achievements, but the general effect of it was that the very method diverted attention from the changing to that which lay beneath the change, from the fleeting to the permanent. The supreme interest was not in tracing the development but rather in showing how the persistent ideas might always emerge clarified and strengthened, through the labours of devoted interpreters and the frustration of any attempts which might have been made to overthrow them. The further result of this conception of authority was an attitude of mind not very receptive to the idea of progress in its philosophical form. The ideal was not to show progress but to show that change had had no vital effect upon the permanent conception of reality. Progress was not so valuable for thought as the continued assertion of the permanent. Progress belonged to a lower level of philosophical thought.

But it must not be thought that Indian thought with all its devotion to unity paid no attention to the world in which progress might be supposed to be possible. In the early Vedic times thought is outward-looking and interested in particularity. It resolved that particularity into a conception of *rita* or order of the universe, under which progress might have been discerned had thought gone further in direction. But on the whole this conception of order was simply a step towards the victory of unity as the dominating conception. In its further implications

it favours the idea of destiny, under which the individual was suppressed or at least lowered in importance. With the internalising of ritual and of the sacrifice, with the discovery first on the physical plane and then on the mental and spiritual, of the intermingling and possible identification of the human with the divine, interest was gradually diminished in the world of movement and of change, in which alone, primarily at least, progress is possible. This synthesis, embodied in the formula "That art thou" which has been described, by Max Müller, as "the boldest and truest synthesis in the whole history of philosophy" was overwhelming in its effects. It exhibited the double tendency towards denial of the particularity of the world of our ordinary experience, and towards identification of the human spirit with the divine with such closeness as to reach an absolute unity. Now whether the second aspect of the endeavour provides sufficiently for internal progress, may be a difficult question to answer, but there can be no doubt about the annihilating character of the first in respect of the external sphere of possible progress. Under the guidance of Śaṅkara's teaching the external world was regarded as the embodiment only of names and forms, symbols which had not fixed the thing symbolised, unsuccessful categories from which the reality had escaped. The homing instinct of the soul, to which this mode of thought gave expression, was so urgent that it gave no opportunity for a backward look to the particularity of the world. The acceptance of individuality was regarded as a metaphysical catastrophe, only to be permitted within the non-committal limits of the conception of *māyā*, which, whatever may be the precise degree of illusoriness associated with it, at least prevented that trust in actuality which alone makes progress possible. Solovyof, the Russian writer, points out that, while mere doubt about objective reality might have no effect upon

moral activity, dogmatic certainty about non-existence would have such an effect in a very considerable degree. So without taking up the position that the conception of *māyā* involves an assertion of non-existence, we may say that the nearer it approaches such an assertion, the more devitalising is its effect upon activity and therefore upon progress.

It may, however, be justifiably said that thought of Vedantic type is quite avowedly uninterested in external progress, but the reason of this is that it thinks that internal progress—the progress of the soul in knowledge and in excellence is all that matters. It is therefore necessary to ask what effect the overwhelming emphasis upon unity has upon the possibility of such internal progress. We may take as an illustration of this Śaṅkara's doctrine of the two orders of knowledge, and his constant appeal to the religious thinker to rise above the inadequacies of the lower order. All progress in knowledge which is worth having must be dominated by the desire to turn away from aimless wandering through the trackless variety of the manifold world and to return to the undivided unity of God. The Self must be expanded until it ceases to be an individual and separate self, and this can be done, not by looking outwards but by looking inwards, not by affirmation and construction, but by negation and retraction. The contrast between the two divisions of knowledge is made so definite by Śaṅkara that we can reach the higher unity only by passing very resolutely from the one kind of knowledge to the other. When we make the transition we carry little or nothing with us from the one sphere to the other. This attitude to progress in knowledge combines within itself the common distinctions between the ordinary and the scientific point of view, and again between this latter and the philosophical point of view. The necessity of the first transition will be easily accepted, but in

regard to the second it may be asked whether the transition is not made more abrupt in Śaṅkara than is necessary, and therefore whether the possibility of progress from the one to the other is not unnecessarily sacrificed. We should all agree that scientific categories are insufficient for the interpretation of reality, but is not fuller co-operation possible? If we think of the two orders as separate in the same way as dream is separate from reality, and if the transition from the one to the other is so abrupt, may we not sometimes be tempted to leave unsolved the difficulties which arise in the lower sphere; just as when, awaking from a dream, we do not take the trouble to correct its absurdities? If the higher is detached from the lower, we are not in a position through the insistent truth of the higher, to force the lower to surrender its inconsistencies. Further, while in the typical Eastern thought we may distinguish both the view exemplified by Śaṅkara that God is without qualities, and the more positive view of Rāmānuja that God is the ocean of auspicious qualities, we may say that the more the negative view prevails over the positive, the more difficult it is to secure that the goal will determine progress towards it. The end will rather be the negation of the process towards it, whereas a conception of reality which will minister to progress is one which is more truly reached, not by turning away from experience, but by further and more open-minded, and also more reverent, study of the facts with which it supplies us.

The same kind of difficulty rises in connection with the problem of progress towards excellence, or what may be vaguely designated as moral progress. Here we are brought face to face with the fundamental moral dilemma in a specially disturbing way. The end does not justify the means, but rather annihilates the means. On the path of the ordinary duties only a lower felicity is reached, by the way of the Fathers or by the way

of the Gods. The goal which the pious man reaches is not the final consummation, and he can not carry his ethical gains with him into the ultimate state. Not only is he, through the conception of *māyā*, prevented from ascribing sufficient importance to the external sphere in which his duties might be actualised, but these duties themselves, in their reaction upon his soul, do not bring him to the highest state. The aim set before him is not transformation but release from all that would bind him to egoity. In this freedom, having absorbed moral rules into himself, he, as an enlightened man, may live as he pleases. Now it would be wholly unjust to see in this a tendency to antinomianism or license. Prof. K. Shastri well emphasises the close connection between Vedantic teaching and the practice of the higher virtues. But ultimately the soul is conceived as unchangeable, and therefore incapable of degrees of perfection. Activity, and the progressive accomplishment of the good, belongs to a lower sphere; the highest ethical state and the highest condition of the soul must be held to be different from each other. So the ideal, while not forbidding progress while we occupy the lower sphere, does not encourage us to carry its results up to the level of spiritual attainment. In this attitude the idea of progress is not unsupported, but is it sufficiently supported?

In this lecture I have tried to analyse the idea of progress, and to show that Eastern thought tends on the whole to emphasise the goal rather than the process towards it. In my next lecture I should like to study one or two special applications, of the doctrines in the East such as we find in the conception of *līlā* and of recurrent cycles of movement. I shall then try to show some of the elements of value in the Eastern idea which have often been strangely overlooked. Then, the prevalence of similar ideas in Western thought will be traced, and finally an

attempt will be made to arrive at some mediating conception which will preserve the spiritual, as contrasted with the material, aspect of progress, while not destroying its possibility.

II

In this lecture I shall first of all consider one or two particular ways in which emphasis upon unity has affected the development of the conception of progress, and shall then try to show the value of the contribution which has been made by Eastern thought towards the purification and elevation of the idea.

We have found that the whole attitude which is associated with the word *māyā*, even when we resolutely refuse to interpret the word as meaning merely "illusion," is unfavourable to any vigorous belief in conditions of progress and that the goal is conceived in such a way as to diminish the importance of the process towards it. A dream-like character is cast over the whole movement, and we cannot look for any strenuous work or advance within a dream, if our minds are filled with the thought of awaking from it, and the only motive left to us is desire for such awakening and the resulting identification with the Divine. But there are conceptions which show a return to a more realistic attitude—conceptions which admit the actuality and even the reality of the temporal process without being able to take it quite seriously. Such conceptions are those of *līlā* and of cyclic process. The Eternal Principle or God cannot be detached altogether from the world process, but God may be conceived of as relieved of any serious purpose in regard to it. His action in the world, instead of being the laborious working out of a continuous purpose, is un-selfconscious, un-strenuous, and, according to these conceptions, of the nature of playful sport. We must not constrain God to labour from a sense of need or attribute to him an overwhelming desire to accomplish

some definite aim. He needs nothing and is not troubled with the burden of cosmic responsibility. He is like a child at play, blowing bubbles lovely as the rainbow, and casually and light-heartedly producing effects of no more lasting character than the bubbles or the rainbow. Some writers in their ignorance have condemned this conception as merely frivolous, but it expresses the kinship between the idea of play and exercise of energy without oppressive strain and anxiety as to the result, and the idea has recently been emphasised that play is one of the most important factors in development and that recreation is akin to creation. Still it must be allowed that the conception is slightly lacking in depth, and if it suggests, as it does, that there is the minimum of purpose on this part of the creator, it is hardly likely to increase the importance of the conception of progress.

If we go further in the more realistic direction and analyse the conception of cyclic process, we do not find much support for the idea of progress. It is at the best only a half-hearted concession to the idea, and it stops short just when we are expecting to have some success in the establishment of it. It is difficult enough to establish progress on the whole—after we may have failed to establish progress through the comparison of individual achievements in different ages—and if we are then told that this progress on the whole is merely within a recurrent movement, and only a preliminary to an inevitable downward dipping of the curve, we shall be tempted to abandon belief in progress altogether. We shall hardly be able to struggle successfully against the sense of final futility engendered by the anticipation that, as things have been, so they will be again, even if the return to the prior state be millions of years distant and beyond the range of our most powerful imaginations of actuality.

At this point another conception may be referred to, in passing, because it illustrates the effect upon the idea of progress of any attitude which diminishes the reality of the world, although in itself it is associated more closely with western than with eastern thought. I refer to the doctrine of an apocalyptic or catastrophic consummation of this present world-process. There may have been divine purpose in regard to it and progress within it at some previous stage, but that development has been frustrated, and all that can now be looked for is progress towards a crisis, when the course of human history shall come to an abrupt end and the structures of civilisation and their systems of government shall be swept away in the whirlwind storms of divine wrath, to make room for a new world which shall be the opposite or the reversal of the present one. There is no room for progress in a world which lieth almost entirely in the evil one, although it may be grudgingly conceded a certain modicum of actuality. But, as I have said this idea of catastrophe is not specifically eastern.

Before passing on to consider certain western conceptions which, by reason of their excessive emphasis upon the permanent, seem to me rather hampering to the conception of progress, I should like to indicate the elements of value in the eastern conception generally. It is not to be taken as altogether opposed to the idea of progress despite superficial appearances. In the first place it at least raises a barrier against any materialistic conceptions of progress, and I think most people are now agreed that it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to establish any satisfactory criterion of merely material progress. In a more positive way through the emphasis upon dream-like character, this same effect is produced by the tendency to regard our ordinary environment as mainly composed of the stuff that dreams are made of. This attitude certainly establishes the

supremacy of the mental over the material, and we shall find that some of our most modern philosophical writers find the test of progress just in the growth of this supremacy of the mental and the expansion of its control. Again if we consider the more philosophical doctrine of "names and forms," it will not be impossible to regard this as an anticipation of the symbolic character of science. It is becoming increasingly recognised—ever since the time when Ward pointed it out so clearly in his *Naturalism and Agnosticism*—that science does not get down to actual individualities, but uses abstract and average conceptions—thought-counters enabling us to deal intelligently and expeditiously with reality, but not actually constitutive of it. Now we associate science in modern days with progress, but this reference to the symbolic character of science leads us to enquire more particularly as to where the progress is actually to be found? If we put such a question, we shall find that progress, as, *e.g.*, in mechanical invention, is not in the things invented but in the ideas which are embodied in the material form. When we speak, *e.g.*, of the development of the steam engine, we do not mean that the crude earlier types have been worked up into the more complex machines of a later date. The primitive engines themselves have been scrapped or preserved only in museums. But we do mean that the early ideas have been worked up into the ideas which have given rise to the modern type of engine. So it would appear that progress, if it is to be found at all, is in ideas and not in things, and this conception is at least adumbrated in the eastern philosophies we have been considering.

I wish now to turn to Western philosophy, and, although progress is supposed, according to proverbial saying and popular belief, to find its natural home in the West, to ask the question whether there are not in Western thought also certain conceptions which are

prejudicial to the notion of progress. If we retrace our steps to the beginnings of philosophy in Greece, we find that Plato's doctrine of Ideas enshrines the notion that all importance belongs to the eternal and that the things belonging to the world of change are but imperfect copies of the perfect, which is unchanging. The effect of this is to give a backward-looking tendency to thought and, sentimentally, to favour the myth of a golden age. Reminiscence rather than fresh discovery is the guiding principle of knowledge. Progress in thought or in action is but the ever more perfect unfolding of that which already exists. There can be no fresh invention, and this lays an emphasis upon the static which allows of no ultimate justification for a belief in progress. Greek philosophy has been described as an "elaboration of the conceptual order." It is detached from experience and thus encourages the rigidity and lack of movement which we tend to associate with mere concepts. As a recent French writer has said, "The kosmos of the Greeks is, as we might say, a world without a history, an eternal order in which time counts for nothing, whether because it leaves that order always self-identical, or because it produces a series of events which always reverts to the same point through an indefinite repetition of cyclical changes. Is not even the history of mankind, according to Aristotle, a perpetual recurrence of the same civilisation? The antithetic thought that there really are radical changes, absolute beginnings, genuine discoveries, in a word, history and progress in the wide sense—such a thought was impossible until Christianity had swept away the Greek kosmos." (Brehier, *History of Philosophy*, 489, quoted in Taylor's *Faith of a Moralists*, II, 324). Time had to come to its own again, in emphasis upon history and individuality.

But the lesson was not thoroughly learnt in Western philosophy. Under the influence of Spinoza temporal happenings were reduced to mere semblances of eternity, and with Hegel and his followers the Absolute comes again to its own and more than its own. With Bradley it has no seasons and bears "all at once its flowers and its

fruits." General Smuts in his book on *Holism and Evolution* selects the notion of the Absolute as the typical philosophical conception, and points out that the Absolute of philosophy leaves no room for development. "The view of the universe," he says, "as a whole or an absolute in the philosophic sense leaves no room for progress, and is in conflict with all the teachings of experience and all the most significant results of science" (p. 102). This dictum of General Smuts is typical of a widespread revolt, to a very large extent due to Bergson's influence, against the absolutist idea in philosophy, and I think we may take it that current western philosophy in general is now moving towards a readiness to give the conception of progress a more honourable status and is ceasing to regard it as belonging to a lower levels of thought or of existence.

Perhaps a passing consideration of the modern view of the criterion of truth may help us towards more satisfactory conceptions. Under the influence of what might be called the copyist theory of truth, whether this took a realistic or idealistic form, truth was held to consist in reproducing or unfolding that which already is. It betokened a rather juvenile, copy-book attitude, as if our supreme endeavour ought to be to trace in our ideas the exact headings set for us in reality. We are deprived of initiative, and have to think as we are compelled by external actualities if we are to attain truth. Or, in more idealistic and Hegelian mood, we have to unfold the possibilities of reason, seek to trace in the world the rational scheme of things, which already is, or which step by step will unfold itself, inevitably according to a preordained plan. Again, just as in the realistic attitude, we are deprived of initiative. In more recent western philosophy, on the other hand, there is a tendency to regard the criterion of truth from a more active point of view. Truth consists in consilience or harmony, and it is obvious that this can be taken as a motive of action. Development consists in the overcoming of obstacles, and, conversely, harmony may be taken as the condition of development. The extension and victory

of harmony may also be regarded as the ideal or goal of development. Thus the ground of validity, *viz.*, consilience, becomes identical with the spring of progress, instead of, by its static bias, presenting itself as a discouragement of progress. The criterion of truth is placed within the idea of progress. As Hobhouse puts it, "The advance of mind is measured by the constant extension of the sphere of harmony and the removal of partial disharmony and discord within each sphere." (*Development and Purpose*, p. 285).

Would it not seem then that, if we are to reach truth, we must also believe in progress as the indication of our nearer approach to truth? Let us now look at the matter in a more objective way and ask if experience presents us with any evidence that progress, if it exists, is of a spiritual character. I think we may say that it is very difficult to establish progress of any other kind, or, in other words, progress cannot be material.

It is a commonplace of reflection that we cannot find clear and distinct evidences of progress in the external and concrete manifestations of human activity, whether individual or social. The achievements of even the most famous individuals have passed into oblivion and decay, and conventional history gives us a record of the rise and fall of dynasties and empires. The names of the conspicuous empires of the past, Assyria and Egypt, Greece and Rome, are suggestions of a glory and power that once were and now are not, and archaeological research simply adds to the series of phenomena of growth and decay, recurrences without any definite advance, exemplifying the principle laid down by McDougall that "whenever the progressive form has outrun the conservative, progress has at first been rapid, and then has come abruptly to an end."

And if we turn our attention from external embodiments to the principle of the process, we do not seem to fare any better,

so long as we keep to a merely naturalistic and materialistic point of view. Even in ancient times it was recognised that depression of spirit was the consequence of pure and unrelieved naturalism. The mood resulting from the Lucretian philosophy is well described by the heroine of Charles Kingsley's novel *Hypatia*, "What if the stream of fate were the only real power? What if there were no centre, no order, no rest, no goal, but only a perpetual flux, a down-rushing change. And before her dizzying brain and heart arose that awful vision of Lucretius, of the homeless universe falling, falling, falling, for ever from nowhere towards nowhither, through the unending ages, by causeless and unceasing gravitation, while the changes and efforts of all mortal things were but the jostling of the dust atoms amid the everlasting storm." Mere naturalism also, as Lord Morley pointed out at a later date, evacuates history of any meaning in so far as it involves a denial of progress. If the narrow original meaning of evolution is retained, there is an irreconcilable conflict between it and history. In the words of Eucken, "where there is evolution there is no real history, and where there is history there is no evolution."

Now the trend of more recent modern thought is in the direction of resolving this contest, not by denying the rights or the progressive character of history, but by changing the conception or at least the range of the principle of evolution. The fallacy which, when the conception of evolution first became popular in the latter half of last century, allowed it to appear as the herald of a new era of progress, is becoming more and more clearly understood. It is seen that evolution guarantees nothing but process, whereas for real progress we must have the production of that which human beings regard as valuable, the realisation of purpose or end. But the further question is being more and more insistently put as to whether the conception of

evolution which seems to be inimical to progress and has to be distinguished from it, may not be transformed into a more serviceable conception? Has it not hitherto been dominated too much by mechanical and geometrical categories, and has it not concerned itself too exclusively with the form of space and forgotten time—real time? For these reasons has it not been almost wholly abstract in its methods, and wholly deterministic in its effects? Has it not been presumptuous in the claim to apply its categories on human levels, and, even at the other end of the scale, has it not allowed the concrete individualities of existence to slip through its meshes? It has excluded history because it has standardised time instead of regarding as true a real duration, different in each individual history. Will not the establishment of progress according to modern philosophical conceptions, come through a refusal to persist in the mechanical interpretation of evolution and the use of the hitherto popular scientific categories? History must come to its own again, not only in regard to human life, but in regard to the lowliest existences. And, if we make this demand consistently and persistently, we shall discover the necessity of a spiritual interpretation of the universe, an interpretation which will leave room for progress and indeed imply progress for the very completion of the interpretation. At the lower end of the scale the conception of dead matter has disappeared. Matter is, in Smuts' phrase, a "mass of seething palpitating energies and activities" (51). At the very outset we are confronted with life which has within it the potentiality of progress, and in the lowest organisms the "inner co-operative creative harmony of the cell" introduces a conception and suggests a criterion of progress which can be carried with us right up through the stages of ascent. The difference between development and decay is the victory of structure, or, in other words, the power of the whole

in the one case and its defect in the other, integration as compared with disintegration. Life and growing harmony are the twin dominating conceptions throughout the whole of nature and history. The conception of evolution has been transformed, and in the transformation has afforded a secure basis for progress. As Smuts puts it, "The view-point of Evolution as creative, of a real progressive creation still going forward in the universe instead of having been completed in the past, of the sum of reality not as constant but as progressively increasing in the course of evolution, is perhaps one of the most significant departures in the whole range of human thought." (*Holism and Evolution*, p. 89.)

If we consider this again from a more philosophical point of view and in its application to the history of human individuals and human societies, there emerges a criterion of progress, which confirms our previous idea that it is identical with the criterion of truth. Progress consists in the intensified desire after, and the growing realisation of, harmony, through the increase of the rational control of life, and the objectification of this control in ever fuller social co-operation. This is our demand and aspiration under the guidance of the most scientific and philosophical modern thought. It is the urge to completeness in the highest sense.

But the question remains, is this a merely human aspiration? Does the universe keep faith with us and justify such an aspiration? In order to answer the question, we must turn back again to that emphasis upon the eternal which was so prominent in Eastern thought and ask whether there is any possibility of combining the two phases of thought? The East delighted in infinity, and, under the liberating conceptions we have just been considering, we have seen that Western thought is being liberated from mechanism and has its doors open also

towards infinity. The problem is whether the infinity is to be abstract, devastating and overwhelming, or whether it can combine with the concreteness of individuality and history? Can we reach out to a divine objectivity which—or who—cares for progress, and so obtain a cosmical guarantee of progress? Does Nature keep faith? A writer in the *Hibbert Journal* many years ago said, "All that makes a Cosmos rather than a chaos of the universe is a maniacal illusion unless nature keep faith with the intelligence it has generated." So the question would appear to be serious.

Now in all the processes of nature and in the activities of human life there would seem to be a margin, or a beyond. The integration of an animal structure is the production of a harmony with, and the drawing in of, resources from an environment which responds. Knowledge has always to deal with an object which remains unexhausted, but which yet meets the efforts to understand it. Most clearly of all, in morality we are striving beyond ourselves and trying to introduce into our human life an attainment or fruition. Morality seems futile unless we can have recourse to something beyond, and the question is whether this spiritual beyond can be conceived of in such a way as to make it receptive of moral endeavour. We have found that as presented by absolutists, morality, in winning the victory, itself ceased to be, in attaining God it disappeared in God. But we may ask whether this is necessary or whether we may not conceive of God as of such a character as to guarantee the progress of morality and all other human activity? Unless we can do so, it seems to me that our conception of progress is left hanging in the air and meaningless.

The true basis of progress lies and must lie in the reciprocity of human and divine. The ideal must be in relation to the real, the infinite to the finite. Our thought about social progress and all other

kinds of progress must have relation to the facts ; it cannot be utopian. Prof. Radhakrishnan in a recent article in the *Spectator* said about certain Eastern teachers that "they admit the pure luminous spirit without division or duality, existent beyond or rather within the world of multiplicity or change." Is the alternative of "beyond" or "within" a matter of indifference ? I think the question of detachment or otherwise makes all the difference here. I think that we require to emphasise, as in general Prof. Radhakrishnan does, the more positive interpretation of eastern teaching whereby it shows that nothing can be regarded as real which is viewed out of connection with the whole. We need to posit on the part of God a trust in the universe in its particularity and its details, a regard for difference as well as for unity, bringing him into connection with the variety of nature, "there being nothing," as Bacon said, "where in nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude." We need to think of God as love, showing itself in outflowing activity or trustfulness towards a world which He has made, giving to that world such reality that He would not be God without it or without satisfying its needs. As Smuts puts it, "The universal realises itself, not in idle self-contemplation or in isolation from the actual, but in and through particular bodies, in particular things and facts." (*Holism and Evolution*, p. 91). We must never make this varied life of ours a mere unintelligible mystery. We needs must posit also on the part of God a trust in history. If He is intelligence, we needs must regard the history of humanity as a record of developing intelligence and strive to conceive of humanity as the highest revelation of God. This trust on the part of God begets trust on the part of man, and draws forth an answering love, for progress is possible for us only if we also can *care* for the highest.

For all these reasons it seems to me that the basal guarantee of progress lies in the idea of Incarnation, that idea which has been in the form of repeated incarnations so strongly emphasised in Eastern belief, and in the idea of a central incarnation has been the

fundamental idea in Christianity. As a Christian I believe that it is the deepest truth not only of religion but of philosophy. The Sonship of Christ shows the way to the sonship of humanity, and it is because we have the right, and also the power, to become the sons of God that we can believe in progress, as the light of heaven upon our path, and not as a mere flickering will-o-the-wisp leading us aside into the waste places of imagination.

The question remains as to how we can believe that God eternally guarantees progress and yet can think that God is complete reality? An answer to this question cannot be given so long as we are mortal, but it seems to me that we needlessly complicate our problem by failing to distinguish between progress towards fruition and progress in fruition, advance *towards* God and advance *in* God. When an artist has perfected his tools may he not make progress in the use of them, and when we have reached God may we not make progress in the realisation of God without detracting in any way from the present completeness of God? Perfect perfection, if the phrase may be allowed, is not merely the destruction of evils but the continual realisation of good, and to that there need not be, there cannot be, any end if God is Infinite. For we do not subtract from the energy of God if we concentrate it in our own activity; we but widen the sphere of the exercise of the Divine energy, a portion of which has been entrusted to us for the ever fuller unfolding of the purposes of God—and our own.

THE INNER MEANING OF HUMAN HISTORY*

LECTURE I

It is fitting that I should first of all express my gratitude to the University of Madras for the honour they have done me in inviting me to deliver these memorial lectures. They have been made possible through the generosity of one of your former Vice-Chancellors, and they commemorate one whose name, when he was at the height of his activity, was almost a household word in Scotland, and who is justly reckoned as one of the greatest men whom modern India has known. You in Madras have many and weighty reasons for remembering him with reverence, but even in the farther parts of India, his fame has travelled, and we are by no means unconscious or unmindful of the magnificence of his services to education and religion in the land of his adoption. It is a peculiar privilege to be allowed to link Calcutta with Madras in the commemoration which this lectureship affords. The subject chosen for the lectures seems to me to be especially suitable for remembrance of him whose name they bear, for he was a man of resolute purpose, and also a religious man; or, in other words, he was one whose ideal was to mould his own activity in accordance with the Divine purpose which he believed to be fundamental in the world in which he lived.

The quest for the inner meaning of history and the effort to interpret it, can be undertaken only from the religious point of view. It is impossible for the mere naturalist, or for one who does not believe in the spiritual nature of man. One whose aim it is only to place man in his proper place in the series

*Reprint of the "William Miller Lectures for 1929—30" delivered at the Madras University on February 24th and 25th, 1930.

of natural causes and effects does not possess or does not know that he possesses, the categories with which he may conduct the search amongst the records of human history. But yet it seems to me that, however much man may, through the dominance of artificial or pseudo scientific conceptions, conceal from himself its necessity, the quest itself is unavoidable for the simple reason that it is an outcome of the fundamental nature of man. It is a result of that double consciousness which T. H. Green ascribes to human nature, the consciousness of being a creature at once of time and of eternity, essentially destined to a ceaseless effort to reconcile these two aspects. As man looks before and after, he is out of time, or rather he is above time, and he remains eternally unsatisfied unless he can bring together the events of his own experience, the events that enter into the experience of other people, or in other words, the events of history, under some unifying conception which may give rest to the strivings of his soul. He must find himself again in the things of time, otherwise he remains a homeless wanderer in the universe. And he can find this rest only if he can harmonise history with the fundamental characteristic of his being, with his innate purposefulness. Otherwise he is oppressed by a sense of futility, and ever seems to himself to be beating the air in an empty world, unless he can have the sense that his purposefulness is reinforced by a Divine purposefulness.

‘The world is so big, and I am so small

I do not like it at all, at all’

sings Stevenson in one of his children’s verses, and we are all of us like grown-up, and yet small children, over against the bigness of the world.

There must be a purpose, we argue, if we are not to fail in our endeavour to reconcile time and eternity, to both of which we belong. And we are reinforced in our consciousness

of need by the reflection that the same dual origin and therefore the same dual necessity seems to be a characteristic of other forms of being besides that of humanity. The application of ideas in Plato to the data of sense, the form and matter of Aristotle, seem to testify to the same desirability of a double interpretation and consequent adjustment. Nothing can yield up its meaning to us unless we recognize the two-fold aspect, and so we generalize our necessities and elevate them to the level of human affairs, and seek for an increasing and unifying purpose in the history of mankind. It is difficult to live up to the requirements of this common-place that we are the children both of time and eternity, and the tragedy of human thought has frequently been that we have fallen a victim to one-sided views, tending to the extreme of naturalism on the one hand or the extreme of abstract idealism on the other. It is a facile procedure for the unawakened soul to accept merely the requirements of the temporal, and it is perhaps equally easy at the first moments of awakening, to pass over to the other extreme, and condemn the temporal as essentially worthless. This has happened both in the thought of the individual and in the thought of the race. The phase of abstraction from the world is perhaps specially familiar to us in India, and causes us to approach the problem of purpose in history by asking whether the search is justifiable, or whether it is not rather a reversal of the truly religious attitude. If, following the lead of some of the philosophers of India, we discover that our highest wisdom lies in regarding the things of our ordinary experience as 'names and forms', and the concatenation of them as more or less a web of illusion, we are, it may be urged, contradicting our spiritual vocation if we proceed to search for any signs of purpose. Even though we refuse as we may to translate the conception of māyā by the word 'illusion', and allow it to include all possible realistic modifications,

yet there remains in the conception a residuum which is incompatible for the religious man with a belief in purpose in any intelligible sense of the term. The aspirations of our soul are turned in another direction, and we cannot consistently allow to the world that importance which is indicated by the working within it of any persistent purpose. It is more or less a dream, and strenuous work or advance cannot be looked for within a dream if we are haunted by the apprehension or obsessed by the desire of awakening from the dream. Neither can we consistently look for progress if our thought is dominated by the idea of cyclic movement in the universe. If civilization returns upon itself from age to age, the mere movement within any one of these cycles will be all that we shall care for. We may note with a certain amount of casualness some indications of advance within the limited periods of our survey, but the advance will be merely the inevitable upward movement of a wheel which will as inevitably move downward again, and we shall not earnestly face the difficulties of discovering any *persistent* advance which may be describable in terms of an increasing purpose. If we are firmly convinced that as things have been, so they will be again, even if the return be thousands or millions of years distant, this sense of final futility will diminish our enthusiasm in respect of the possible temporary progress, and will fail to furnish us with the inspiration necessary for the search.

There are two other conceptions of a semi-theological character which seem to me to militate against any success in discovering the inner meaning of human history. The first of these is such a view of the nature of God which would make it impossible to associate with him any serious concern for the progress of the world. The difficulties of associating purpose with God have been discussed by many philosophers both eastern

and western, and for some the only consistent solution has been to detach God as far as possible from the process of the world. This mode of thought has found expression in the eastern conception of *līlā*, which, if God is to be allowed any association with the world at all, can put him in that relation only in so far as he is dominated by a mood of freedom and light-heartedness. He must be capable, as Max Müller points out, of a considerable degree of self-forgetfulness—forgetfulness, i.e. of any serious purpose to be accomplished in the world. We cannot conceive of the creator as labouring from a sense of need or with any overwhelming desire to accomplish definite purposes. He needs nothing and aims at nothing, but rather is like a child of sportive impulse, blowing bubbles lovely as the rainbow, but claiming no more lasting character. This conception is certainly not to be regarded as merely frivolous. Although it may be lacking in depth, it expresses the kinship between the idea of play and the idea of the exercise of energy without strain, effortless growth towards perfection, and it is possible, as a recent writer in the *Hibbert Journal* points out, that play is as important as work in the evolutionary process and recreation is near of kin to creation. Still when all this is said, the effect of the conception is to suggest that if there is the minimum of purpose in the thought of the creator, there will also be little of purpose in the created world or in the doings of the human beings, individually and collectively, who inhabit that world.

The other conception which hinders us in our discovery of purpose is the apocalyptic notion which is more associated with western thought, the idea of God as having indeed had purpose in regard to the world, but as having been in a measure frustrated in the particular working out of that purpose and therefore compelled to change the location of the working. The world has gone so far astray from his original purposes

in regard to it that nothing more can be done with it. Mankind has become so corrupt that both they and the world in which they live are now worthy only of destruction. The course of human history must come to an abrupt end. They and their systems of government and civilization so-called must be swept away in the whirlwind storms of the divine wrath to make room for a new world which shall be the entire opposite or reversal of the old. In such a condition of things when the old world is so bad that it cannot be made good, there is no heart left in us to look for the signs of purpose.

In order, then, that we may discover purpose, we must get rid of these presuppositions which are born of abstraction. We must have good-will towards the world in its actuality. We must cease to look upon it as a dream, or as merely the gymnastic exercise-ground of virtue. We must look upon it as a continuous process, and not merely as subject to secular spasms of increasing and decaying energy, a weary wheel ceaselessly turning between the height of existence and the depth of non-existence. We must conceive of God as having a persistent and serious interest in it, not as carelessly disporting himself within it, or, in disappointment, sweeping it away in order that he may initiate a new creation. Our hold upon the eternal must not permit or compel us to despise the temporal.

But we must be equally on our guard against the other danger. We must not allow our hold upon the temporal to cause us to forget the eternal, or emphasise the natural in man so that we neglect the spiritual. If we are obsessed by the conceptions of a dismal naturalism, we shall have no room in our thoughts for the idea of progress. If we attempt to explain the world and ourselves in nonspiritual terms we shall arrive at process only and not progress. The world will be regarded not as reaching forward to any goal but simply as going on. The

heroine in Charles Kingsley's novel of *Hypatia* well describes the mood which is the resultant of extreme naturalism. 'What if the stream of fate were the only real power? What if there were no centre, no order, no rest, no goal, but only a perpetual flux, a down-rushing change. And before her dizzying brain and heart arose that awful vision of Lucretius, of the homeless universe falling, falling, falling, for ever from nowhere towards nowhither, through the unending ages, by causeless and unceasing gravitation, while the changes and efforts of all mortal things were but the jostling of the dust atoms amid the everlasting storm.' With naturalistic presuppositions, history itself becomes mechanical and is brought within the sweep of the conception of merely cyclic change. In one passage indeed Lord Morley hints that no other conception of history is possible than one which involves the denial of progress. 'The historical spirit', he says, 'has led to a certain denial of progress in modern times. Instead of combating evils, we are content if we explain them.' And indeed he would seem to be right if the facts of human life are degraded to the level of inanimate nature, if we forget the difference between the soul of man and the rest of the universe, or if we regard the present and the future alike as altogether in the grasp of the past. Evolution narrowly conceived (although indeed we are not bound to continue to conceive it thus narrowly) will not take us far in the direction of progress. Rather would it guide us in the reverse directions if we were to accept the opinion of Huxley and point out that 'the ethical process is in opposition to the principle of the cosmic process, and tends to the suppression of the qualities best fitted for success in that struggle.' It is such a narrow conception of evolution which Eucken probably has in view when he says that, 'where there is evolution there is no real history, and where there is history there is no evolution.'

Now what I wish to urge is that we should get rid of these hindering presuppositions which arise from an excessive emphasis either upon the eternal or the temporal in separation from each other. There is no *a priori* incompatibility between the two aspects, between the eternal and the temporal, between the spiritual and the material. The eternal cannot be understood except in relation to the temporal. The bare relation even of part and whole points to a certain unification and suggests a greater stability of the whole even while regarded as inclusive of the parts. Evolution is alteration of the parts within nature as a whole. It is change in relation to a whole which is at least relatively more permanent. We can hardly bring our minds to conceive of it except in connection with a real Being who is not subject to space and time. And from our own experience we can reinforce this general consideration. We should not even be conscious of change were we not, as Kant long ago pointed out, in contact with the unchanging, and in our limited activities and purposes we are attempting to realize in time something which, previous to the contributing changes in the temporal sphere, has had a supra-temporal existence in our consciousness if not also in an extra-subjective sphere of reality.

Thus I hold that we can go forth to our search for meaning and progress without any negative embarrassment, without any haunting fear that we are by the metaphysical constitution of the world foredoomed to failure. Can we take with us any positive encouragement or make use of any categories which will not only be unhampering but will be definitely helpful? Can we go forward to the discovery of purpose in history with any assurance of expectation in the back of our minds? I have no hesitation in saying that we are better prepared for our quest if we proceed from inward belief to outward experience, and that we are more likely to be

successful in our historical quest if we on other grounds hold securely to a faith in a God of character. I do not suggest that we should adopt the naive method of first of all making up our minds what we are to find and then going dogmatically forth to find it. All I am pleading for is a certain attitude, which will fill us with that expectation of success which is half the battle. It is an attitude which can embody itself in a presupposition and certainly not in a premature conclusion and I think it is engendered by a faith in a God who is not an abstraction or a negation of description, but is—to adopt Rāmānuja's phrase—the home of all auspicious qualities.

Now it is not possible to regard these qualities as altogether passive in character. A God who is compact of all powers and plans and virtues, must send forth energy from himself. He must be essentially self-revealing. He must have some language in which to express his thoughts or some deeds in which to embody his purposes. We cannot believe in a God of character unless we believe in him as working, and thus we are predisposed to the belief that we may *possibly* find traces of his working in the world of human action. Our minds are adjusted to the idea that history probably has meaning, just as from our knowledge of the mental quality of a literary man we may form the expectation that any book written by him will contain sound sense, even though we may have actually to read the book before we can prove the validity of our expectation.

Although we may not without empirical investigation quite reach the position that there is in actual history an increasing purpose, we may through these presuppositions at least approach the conception that history is symbolic, that it is not mere sound and fury, a tale told by an cosmic idiot, but that it is intended to express a meaning, extrinsic to itself, if not intrinsic, to be at least an educative picture if not a practical programme.

In our belief that the religious attitude has relevance to history, we are strengthened by the reflection that so many of the chief religions of the world claim to have an historical basis. This would seem to suggest that there is some natural affinity between history and religion, and that, if religion can nourish itself on historical facts, we are warranted in taking with us to the study of history the religious presupposition that history may in itself, and not merely symbolically, be a revelation of God, and therefore have an inner meaning. If, as a matter of fact, chosen spirits which have appeared in the race at certain periods of history, have awakened and sustained the religious consciousness, we have an additional assurance that we are warranted in allowing the religious consciousness to influence our whole preliminary attitude to the study of history.

I have hitherto been dealing mainly with *a priori* considerations, but I make no apology for this, because my main thesis to begin with is that the mere study of historical facts taken by themselves will never yield sufficient evidence of inner meaning or increasing purpose. We must hold fast to the dual nature of man. 'Unprejudiced historians are no longer unequivocally oblivious of the inner conditions of the soul as the real creations of the external facts of history, nor are they ashamed to acknowledge the recurrent and inevitable reactions of the spirit as the epoch-making factors, whether these reactions operate on economic, philosophical, or religious problems. History has always an inner side in the secret happenings of the soul: it presents also the external aspect of happenings chronicled in outward events.' We can have no success in our quest if we proceed to it in a spirit of disillusionment or of unbelief in the spiritual nature of man. We understand history only as we find ourselves again in history, and we ourselves are composite, mingled of human and divine, having as our own problem in

our individual life the eliciting of meaning from, or the placing of meaning in, the tangled facts of our environment. We shall expect to find the same kind of problem in the wider realm of general history, and we can have no hope of solving it unless we set its factors before us, and are ready to regard whatever purpose there may be as constituted by the interplay of human and divine. We start from our own nature to discover that nature writ large in the world of history. Influenced by our understanding of our own nature and especially of our essentially purposeful nature, we take with us the will to find purpose in the world, a will based on and informed by a consciousness of God, a sense of the value of the spiritual, and a preliminary recognition of the situation that there is nothing in the world of facts inherently antagonistic to purpose.

In turning our attention from presuppositions to the actualities of history as it has been wrought out in the world of human experience, so far as that is within human recollection and record, it should not be difficult to establish first of all the characteristic of continuity. No scientific historian would tolerate the idea of breaks which cannot be bridged over by patient study and accumulation of material. His aim is to trace events back to their very beginnings, and to show how the factors operative in the very dawn of history have continued their effects in changing form right down through the ages even to the present time. There is no doubt whatsoever about the continuous process of history. The difficulty is whether the word process is interchangeable with progress, whether continuity involves increase of meaning. But in order to discover this it must also be premised that selection is necessary amongst our facts. 'In history' as has been said, 'there is no democracy among facts; all, it is true, have the same right to be understood, but some facts are of vastly more significance than others. The scholar for whom all

facts are of significance and all of equal significance, never understands anything, though Nature is kind to him and conceals from him that there is anything to understand. Conversely, genius may be described as the instinct for the fact with meaning, for the real factor; and it is this that every true historian and every real man of science will seek.' The greatest historians have always been those who have had this genius for discovering the significant facts or the dominant epochs in the world's history, and lesser men must follow in their train and share with them the same freedom from the control of mere continuity if they are to have any hope of grasping the inner meaning of history.

In our empirical study we must proceed by gradual stages from the lower to the higher, and outward from the experience of the individual to that of the nations and of the race. We are interested in the lower organisms around us and detect in them rational orderly growth from crude beginnings to the full perfection of which their form is capable. Step by step we may advance in our argument that, if there is growth in the lower animal, so there may be growth in the higher, the human animal. So long as we live, we hope, and hope means that we set no limits to our perfectibility, cherishing the conviction which the psalmist expressed so long ago. 'What is man that thou art mindful of him? And the son of man that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour.' And so from the individual we argue to the race, and argue that, if there is perfectibility in the individual, there may also be this increasing purpose in the race. It is a confidence born of our individual experience, and not contradicted by the facts of history, we hope, if we view them with unprejudiced eyes.

I should like to close this first lecture with the further thought that we discover purpose in history by generalizing from

our own reaction to the facts of life and death in our own immediate experience. When the members of the older generation gradually pass from our mortal sight, do we simply accept the fact of their disappearance without a longing, a hope, a conviction, that something has passed from them to us? We rebel against the thought of their utter mortality. We cannot conceive of their lives and their work as having simply come to an end. We almost passionately demand that there should be continuance of their influence in us. And we are not content merely with continuance. We insist on progress. We are not satisfied that we should simply repeat their experiences on the same level. We wish to improve the heritage that has been handed down to us, otherwise we conceive of ourselves as having failed in our destiny. In short, we confidently look for progress from the generation immediately preceding us to the generation which we ourselves represent. What is to hinder us from generalizing to history as a whole, and demanding an increasing purpose running through the ages?

Again the same thing happens when we anticipate the end of our own lives. We cannot tolerate the conception of an abrupt ending. The passion of family is inherent in the thoughts of the race. The man wishes to transmit to his descendants what he has acquired, again not simply that it may be preserved intact, but that it may be improved. In short, he envisages progress from himself to the generation succeeding him. He demands that progress. Again I ask, why not generalize? Is it reasonable that what man regards as the fundamental rationality of things in his own case, should not have a general law corresponding to it in the destinies of the race to which he belongs?

To-day I have spoken of presuppositions and expectations and generalizations. To-morrow I shall attempt to discuss the question whether there is any justification or guarantee for these generalizations.

LECTURE II.

In our search for any increasing purpose that may be discovered as working through the ages, we have hitherto been speaking of presuppositions and expectations. We have now to ask the more direct question as to how this continuous purpose might be embodied? Obviously we cannot find it in the details of human experience, which are necessarily of a fragmentary character. Neither can we find it even in the unified experiences of individual lives, because as far as our direct experience goes these are rounded off or abruptly ended by death. Nor is it to be discovered in the much longer collective experience of a nation, because one of the fundamental lessons of history is the rise and fall of the nations, and there is also the exceeding great difficulty of establishing continuity between one civilization and another. We would thus seem to be driven back upon the search for some vehicle even of continuity, not to speak of an embodiment of increasing purpose. Is there any spiritual vehicle of transmission which will bridge the gulfs between our disjointed experiences, or establish a continuous stream of tendency from one life to another or from one nation to another?

We discuss on the physical level the transmissibility of acquired characters, and, whatever may be our scientific conclusion as to the possibility of this, we are at least agreed on the necessity of establishing, in relation to any developing system, some method by which the gains of one generation may be secured for the benefit of the next. But what is this medium, and where is it to be found? Some would attempt to satisfy this necessity by positing a semiphysical or magical medium. Theosophists, e.g., speak of the etheric records which are believed to exist on the walls of ancient buildings and monuments, and by means of which those who are possessed of the requisite power may read secrets of the past which are hidden from the

ordinary man, and may therefore claim an almost visible assertion of continuity. We may not accept the form in which this particular belief is expressed, but yet it testifies to the felt need for some vehicle which will unify and carry on the acquisition of the centuries, and in relation to which we may hope, if at all, to establish an increasing purpose.

More scientific conceptions take the form of a belief in a group-mind, which belief is expressed in current talk about the ethos of a people, and arise from a recognition of the undoubted fact that there is more in the collective thoughts and actions of a group of people than can be explained by the separate nature and activity of the individuals composing the group. It is exceedingly difficult to detach in any describable way this group-mind from the individuals who are supposed to possess it in common, or to state its intellectual or moral content, but, all the same, the belief in it testifies to a reality, which, if established, might go far in the direction of solving our problem. If we could formulate this conception in any useful manner, all we would then have to do would be to write a history of this group-mind and attempt to conclude whether it was advancing or receding in intellectual and moral attainment. The same procedure which we applied to individual nations and their group-minds, might then be applied to a universal group-mind, and our problem as to the inner meaning of history might then be in a fair way towards being solved.

But unfortunately we cannot discover any group-mind possessing this certainty of existence and describability of character even within the bounds of the single peoples, and the difficulty of synthesizing the various group-minds into a continuity applicable to universal history, is much greater than is indicated merely by saying that it would be an extension to the humanity of a conception already applied to particular peoples.

I am afraid, then, that we must admit that if we are to have a vehicle of continuity or increasing purpose, it must be of more spiritual and intangible character than is indicated by the conception of a group-mind. But this is not to say that such a medium does not exist. The experiences of humanity when generalized, and especially the indomitable refusal of the human mind to be deprived of the conception of some form of immortality, seem to me to imply the existence of some kind of spiritual reservoir, a supernatural sphere of being in which the triumphs of the past are preserved. I do not think it is possible to find the inner meaning of history if we confine ourselves to what is sensibly perceptible. You may say that this is dogmatism, or at best mysticism, a fancy uncorroborated by experience. On the contrary, I think it is philosophically justifiable if we insist upon a comprehensive view of history, as produced by the interplay of the spirit with its material environment, and not by the latter set of conditions alone, and if we refuse to abandon our initial statement of the fundamental conditions of our quest. There is more than devout fancy in the thought of the religious writer of long ago who spoke of our being 'compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses' and of the influence of the heroism of the past upon the struggles of the present. In short, I cannot conceive of history as yielding up its secret if we detach what might be described as the factual side of it from the spiritual background. This does not mean that we assume what we want to prove, that we beg the question of purpose by saying that God is working in the course of history to bring about some desired result. It simply means that we must state the conditions in their fulness, and not incompletely, and in order to do this we cannot be content to investigate phenomena which are obviously unfinished and which demand extension beyond their merely sensible limits.

The demand of wholeness involves that we cannot take isolated events or individual lives in abstraction or in isolation from the completeness which their essential nature demands. That they do demand this completion is indicated by the sense of abruptness, of dissatisfaction, with which their merely sensible appearance leaves us. To gain a true insight into their meaning, we must strive to translate into philosophical conception the thought of the poet, in the well-known lines:—

‘There shall never be one lost good. What was shall live as before; . . .
 ‘All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;
 ‘Not its semblance, but itself; no beauty, nor good, nor power
 ‘Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
 ‘When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.
 ‘The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
 ‘The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
 ‘Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard,
 ‘Enough that he heard it once; we shall hear it by and by.’

Prophecy is simple passionate desire. If strong enough, it brings the thing desired to pass. The demand for immortality refuses to be silenced, and, if we neglect it, we shall never reach the inner meaning of history.

This conception seems to me strengthened when we reflect upon the conditions which have preserved for us the scriptures of the race. The sacred books of religion, not those merely which are formally described as inspired, but those which have proved their value by their permanence, have not been preserved by any external or adventitious advantages. They remain a permanent possession for us because they enshrine what men will not willingly let die. The wonderful thing about them is not the mere fact that they were preserved but that they were preserved because of what they contained. They testify to man's ineradicable belief in a residuum of a spiritual character which survives all the changes of the individual and the national life,

to the thought that something can be handed down in which history gathers up its most precious meaning for the benefit of succeeding generations. In these scriptures, as in sacred shrines, humanity has deposited what has seemed to be the essence of the experiences through which the race has passed. Also the fact itself of the existence of historical religions, apart from the specific contents of their teaching, points in the same direction to a similar idea that it may be possible to continue for all the benefits of the concentrated meaning of certain epochs of history or certain particular historical individuals. A belief in the meaning of history is bound up with a belief in the possibility of preserving that meaning.

The attempt to approach the problem from another side, from a definitely empirical point of view, ought now to be made, always with the proviso that we guard ourselves against abstraction, against the idea that it is ultimately possible to treat history from its purely objective side. When we consider the external events with which conventional history is occupied, we find a record of the rise and fall of dynasties and empires. Assyria and Persia, Tyre and Sidon and Egypt, Greece and Rome, Imperial Spain are names that suggest to us the glory and power that were, and now are not. Archæological research is but adding to the list and lengthening the period through which we may trace the same phenomena of growth and decay. The world is strewn with the ruin of magnificent erections which are the symbols of colossal enterprises, undertaken by statesmen of pre-eminent ability for whom, through decades, if not through whole centuries, successors were readily found, involving through long periods of time the destinies of millions of men, rising gradually to the zenith of power and as inevitably decaying. In India herself we have the history of innumerable empires, obtaining dominance over varying extents

of territory, expanding, then shrinking and giving way to another form of rule, in regard to which the same tale might be told. Take the country round about Delhi, and reflect upon the impression made of incessant change, alternating growth and decay. It would seem impossible to read any meaning into this seemingly never ending process. It is difficult to say that the succeeding empires are definitely better than those that have gone before. We cannot say that the empire-builders of one age have built nobler edifices upon the ruins left by their predecessors. Rather it seems to be a repetition of the same form, age after age, with only minor variations. The social organizations vary only in subordinate details and not in essence, and all alike seem to suffer from an instability which sooner or later manifests itself. If we confine ourselves to a limited period and to a single nation or empire, we may indeed detect progress. We may point to the growing freedom of the individual and the consequent freedom of thought, with its exploration of new kinds of conduct and new adjustments of the individual to the environment which make for increase of harmony and happiness. But then again we are confronted with the generalization that disturbance of equilibrium leads to the decay of any particular social organization, according to the principle laid down by McDougall, that 'whenever the progressive form has outrun the conservative, progress has been at first rapid, and then has come abruptly to an end.'

That progress cannot be readily discovered in the succession of external forms of society, seems to be indicated by the constant recurrence of pessimism in regard to the large or imperialistic forms of state. You find indications of this in the introspectiveness of much of Indian philosophy both in ancient times and at later date. You find it in the world-weariness and apathy of the Stoics. You find it in the oft-repeated

disgust at the post-war conditions of the modern world. I took up a book at random the other day, and in it I found these paragraphs written by one of our most famous living authors: 'His heart was sick and heavy with the stupendous failure of the world, its blindness and stupidity, its far-reaching mistakes, its selfish carelessness, its apparently deliberate choice of the downward way which could end only in disaster. Was there no way out? No way of calling men to a better mind and stopping this hideous dance of death?'

'Things were all wrong. Everywhere, the world over, things were all wrong'.

'The nations, great and small, still squandered untold millions on their doubts and fears one of another, and he had come to doubt if moral suasion would be able to keep the peace when the insensate burden grew top-heavy, as it had done before. Another war infinitely more terrible than the last would make an end of civilization. Every one agreed upon that but they could not come to an agreement to prevent it. And meanwhile, all those untold millions, which should have gone to the betterment of life's conditions, were blown away in smoke and hammered into armour plate. A mad world.'

This quotation, while it indicates certain particular causes of present discontent, also voices that sense of failure which has never in any age been far away from the thoughts of those who have searched for signs of progress in external, political or merely national organization. It seems to me that relief from pessimism can come only through a deepening of the meaning of civilization. As long as we think of civilization as dependent entirely, or even mainly, on external conditions, we shall always tend to think of its repeated ruin in the past, and of its approaching ruin in the immediate future. But it is possible in this connection to think of the old metaphor of the treasure

in earthen vessels and to view with comparative equanimity the breaking of the vessel if only the treasure may be preserved. We can surely think of civilization in a more inward way, as consisting not in definite institutions and political organizations, given external and political form, but in the dispositions of the individuals who make up a nation. As one writer puts it, 'The civilization of a people at any time is essentially the sum of the moral and intellectual traditions that are living and operative among them at that particular time.'

Are we then to consider these moral and intellectual traditions as operative in the individuals merely, and give up any attempt to find progress in external organizations? To a certain extent this would give that detachment from custom and institutionalism and that freedom of mind which would make for growth. It would throw men back upon the resources which were entirely within their own power, make them independent of extraneous aids, and so compel them to develop, in the passage from 'rigorous collectivism to perplexed individualism', their own soul-force. But there is the opposite danger of excessive individualism, especially if the individual is forced in upon himself through sheer dissatisfaction with his immediate environment. A disgusted reaction from reliance upon one's surroundings is apt to produce a bitterness of spirit which is not far removed from a cynical selfishness. In such cases we are apt to be left with no intermediary between the individual and the universe, and the resulting loneliness may very well be paralysing. A man sick of men soon becomes sick of himself and his pessimism covers life in its entirety. The world weariness of the Stoic is not permanently progressive.

In any case it is only the progress of the individual soul, and we are forced back upon the question, whether, if this is all we have to rely upon, we are in a very hopeful position.

If we concentrate upon the subjective side only, can we point to any progress through the ages in intellectual capacity or moral virtue? It is doubtful whether we can trace any development in the intellectual capacity of men. Apart from the greater variety of objects upon which we exercise our intelligence, can we say that in apprehension and grasp of these objects we have improved on the men of far back ages or even upon our immediate ancestors? There were giants of intellect in those days as well as now, and who shall provide us with the measure of relative ability? And is it not the case that individualistic effort to improve our intellectual capacity apart from human interest in its objects, always overreaches itself and leads to useless triviality?

Can we establish progress in regard to the moral virtues? Our opportunities may be greater than those of former times, but are we better men and women? It is difficult to establish progress in fundamental virtuous disposition. Are there not some moralists who argue that we should not expect progress because virtue is innate, and the best we can do is to preserve the original powers of our soul from the contamination to which they are exposed? We should be satisfied if men do not grow worse without hoping that they will grow very much better. Others, thinking more empirically, suggest that there is no progress in virtue, but only in the application of it. We may have deepened our conception of certain virtues, and changed the emphasis from external observance to spiritual disposition. The purity which is demanded is the heart, as well as of external action. We have widened the extent of our virtues. Our benevolence goes beyond the family to the community, and our tolerance is theoretically universal. Freedom is regarded as the inalienable right of every individual to whatever class or race he may belong. But notwithstanding all this it might

still be possible to apply more generally even to people of many former ages the judgement which Green passed on the Greeks, that 'the articulated scheme of what the virtues and duties are, in their differences and in their unity, remains for us now, in its main outlines what the Greek philosophers left it.'

If then we have difficulty in finding progress either in external social organization on the one hand or in the growth of the individual soul, where are we to find it? I think the signs of progress are to be found in the improving adjustment of the individual to a world in which the external organization of society has largely failed. Men are discovering, if they have not already discovered it,—that mere patriotism, mere nationalism are not enough. The attitude of 'my country, right or wrong' has been suicidal in the past in many a case, and is likely to be even more disastrous in the future. The long quotation which I gave a few minutes ago voices a universal mood. The nearer loyalties have not the hold upon us which once they had. How much has been lost by this we cannot attempt to estimate, but if we are to have any assurance of progress we must admit the possibility at least of greater gains. We have widened our conceptions to the bounds of the world; we have created opportunities for action which go far beyond the bounds of country or of race. We have softened the pressure upon the individual of requirements of more advantageously placed governments or classes. Society is now organized, as the familiar dictum has it, on a basis of contract rather than of status. We have emphasized the freedom of the individual as paramount claim, but we cannot exclude the remembrance of how frequently outstanding individuals, leaders of their people in thought and in action, have owed their progress to the influence upon them of the nearer environment. And thus we cannot contemplate

with equanimity the spectacle of man over against the universe, bereft of all supports except his sense of freedom, which may be very empty. It seems to me that the problem of the present day is set for us by the relations of the individual to the wider world in which he finds himself. His distress arises from his unrelatedness. He has lost the nearer loyalties and has not gained the newer and wider ones, and it seems to me that purpose may be revealed and progress estimated according to our success in creating these newer loyalties. It is here that the inner meaning of history lies.

Progress lies in the measure of our realization, once more, of a double nature in man. Freedom we have at the present time in greater measure than ever before, but the freedom may be so complete as to be a new kind of bondage. This is shown by the restlessness which seems to possess the modern world. Men seem frequently to hate their new-found freedom and to desire a transition 'from a condition of liberty to some blessed state of bondage' as if they felt the need and the longing for better adjustment between themselves and the unlimited world of humanity, and sought for co-operation between them and the power, the divine power which is behind humanity. They find that their freedom often results in disintegration, a kind of reversed selection, as it has been called, which takes away from them as individuals or as a class their power of persistence, and thus destroys the only basis upon which they can exercise their freedom. But there are welcome signs that not only negative pressure, but positive yearning of the spirit is sending men forth in search of the wider loyalty. We have made progress, as has been hinted, in imaginative sympathy so that exploitation of other classes or other races is now repugnant to the highest ethical sense of mankind. We have made progress towards universal tolerance so that coercion of thought or action

is seen to be a pitifully inadequate method of dealing with the evils that may seem to stand in the way of progress.

The ideas and sentiments underlying the League of Nations have made wonderful progress during recent years, and slowly and surely the idea of responsibility to the universal community is gaining influence and practical embodiment. But it is still largely occupied in clearing away the obstacles to world peace, and there is need of a more positive and bolder policy, based not on a craving for security and a fear of what might happen if war came, but on a conception of what ought to happen in a world in which war is not a conceivable possibility.

Religion has undoubtedly made progress from reliance upon institutionalism to a conception of its inward and spiritual character, and along with this has gone a weakening of the conception of a religion which is merely national or confined to the bounds of particular races. It is realized as never before that religion belongs to the universal, and that while it is preeminently a relation between the individual soul and God, it is also the fundamental and ultimately the only means whereby man is brought into proper relations with his fellowmen.

This brings me to my concluding position. We have made progress, it seems to me in solving the problem of the adjustment of freedom and control, and in stating the proper relation between the individual and the universal community. But the security for further progress can lie only in a recognition of the full nature of man, or in other words, a recognition of the influence of the spiritual in human history. Unless man realizes in thought and action that he is a creature of both time and eternity he cannot hope either to discover or to make progress. The inner meaning of human history seems to me to lie in this that it provides for humanity a means for the realization of God both in individual and collective life. Man has

reached a position in which he stands forth free to utilize his capabilities. Education and tradition have combined to enable him to gather up in himself, more consciously than ever before, the lessons of the past. Thus, in Bergsonian phrase, he becomes an embodiment of duration rather than of mere temporal sequence. But it is only under the guidance of religion that he can realize that his proper relation to God and to the world is one of correlation and communion. He himself, conscious of his capacities, must come into communion with a God of character, and of such a character, that from it will emerge, as an inspiring and constraining conception, the idea of the kingdom of God. It is such a conception, that can turn the negative dissatisfaction with the failure of limited national organizations into a positive passion for the improvement of universal human conditions, and it is in the growing realization of this that increasing purpose manifests itself.

The root meaning of the world's history lies in the idea of Incarnation. It has been showed forth in many religions, but it reaches its fulness when it is associated with increasing purpose. As a Christian I find the inner meaning of the world's history in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, who came not accidentally or as one of a series, but in the fulness of time, and further progress seems to me to lie in the fuller realization of his spirit understood in its simplicity and its depth. For the root of his teaching is the co-operation of God and man, the possibility of unfettered communion of the individual with God, and the removal of restrictions upon the unification of humanity. The increasing purpose in history is the growing realization of divine sonship and of unity in the brotherhood of the family of God. Progress lies in the increase of God-consciousness or it lies nowhere. Man cannot go far in his lonely quest without desiring to meet God, and the inner meaning of history is his

realization of God's approach to him. It is the increasing purpose of God that men should realize this fully, and so become more and more fit to be called the sons of God. Thus will the world be brought back to a sense of God, which is the consummation towards which human events are moving. And I cannot but think that the world is so central in the thought of God that it must abide within His care until His thought is reflected in and realized by the thoughts of humanity. Thus we may look forward in hope. 'Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be.'

PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE *

It is impossible to get away from Philosophy, however much you may try to do so. Philosophy is connected with every other subject in the world, and enters into every other subject because philosophy is the thinking consideration of things. Nothing that is human is alien to philosophy, and nothing that is inhuman either. We are all philosophers whether we wish to be so or not, and the only difference between those who study philosophy and those who do not, is that the former have the greater chance of being good philosophers and the latter the greater chance of being bad ones. I say "the greater chance," for it often happens that those who study philosophy as a special subject are very bad philosophers while those who do not study it formally are occasionally good philosophers although they are not so good as they frequently think they are.

But the connection between philosophy and literature is specially close. For one thing both philosophers and poets are frequently somewhat queer people, especially in the judgment of those who are neither philosophers nor poets. Some one said recently that "no absolutely normal person can ever be a poet." There is some truth in this, and the same thing might be said about philosophers, especially about the great philosophers. Some of us feel that we are prevented from being great just because we are too normal, or, in other words, too ordinary. We cannot get away easily and readily enough from the conventional point of view. This may be an advantage for the practical living of our lives, for, as Bergson has told us, our ordinary thinking is the product and the ally of our practical necessities. But it is certainly not good for either our philosophy

* Reprinted from the *Calcutta Review*.

or our poetry or our literature in general. No poetry or philosophy which is of any value is content with the customary and partial views of ordinary life, with the unreasoned, prejudiced, clap-trap and conventional opinions which men throw lightly about to one another without thinking of their meaning. No true poet or philosopher is content with merely the limited vision of his own period or his own race. He seeks for liberation from the limited self and desires to come in contact with that which is universal. He aims, at discovering the fundamental truth of things and neither poet nor philosopher is satisfied with anything less than this. They both seek to touch the very pulse of the machine of life and look upon man as

"A being breathing thoughtful breath
A traveller between life and death." (Wordsworth.)

They desire

"That content surpassing wealth
The sage in meditation found." (Shelley).

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, at once poet and philosopher, speaks of the mind of India coming "out of the world of narrow necessities and realising its place in the infinite" (*Sādhanā*, p. 9) and he also suggests that essentially the "tragedy of human life consists in our vain attempts to stretch the limits of things which can never become unlimited,—to reach the infinite by absurdly adding to the rungs of the ladder of the finite (*ibid*, 151).

The methods of philosophy and literature no doubt may be different. Philosophy proceeds by way of logical conception and reasoning. It takes the help of science in the formation of general laws which it builds into a system by which a connected view of the universe as a whole may be obtained, and it sets forth its results in the form of lengthy and learned treatises which only a few people condescend to read at all, and which

still fewer are able to read with understanding. The poet on the other hand makes use rather of the method of intuition. He seeks a more rapid release from the tyranny of the isolated fact. He sees clearly that "a mere fact is like a blind lane, it leads only to itself and it has no beyond;" and therefore he does not care even to generalise from facts, and reach laws which might be felt to be only a more rigid bondage of the spirit. He does not rely on ratiocination or demonstration, but seeks a direct and immediate vision of the supreme, of the truth which "opens up a whole horizon and leads us to the infinite." The joy and music of poetry become the fulfilment of his spiritual destiny. Instead of laboriously analysing and interpreting the record of the infinite in the finite, the poet seems to share in the original and originating joy of the Creator. The ideal of beauty supplies the form of the results at which the poet arrives, and he embellishes them with artistic adornment. For him truth is often embodied in a tale, or in vivid description of natural beauty or in dramatic representation of human activity. But the aims of both poet and philosopher are the same,—the flight from the impermanent to the permanent, from the untrue to the True, from the unreal to the Real, the never-fully-to-be-satisfied expression of their sense of the Unity and Harmony of all things. Both fulfil their spiritual destiny in conceptions in which philosophy and poetry are at one; "when the perception of the perfection of unity is not merely intellectual, when it opens out our whole being into a luminous consciousness of the all and becomes a radiant joy, and overpowering love" (*Sādhana*, p. 113). The philosopher becomes the poet when he intensely appreciates the truth that

"Nothing in the world is single
All things by a law divine
In one another's being mingle." (Shelley.)

And the poet shows his affinity with the philosophic idea when he makes even the nightingale slightly suspicious of mere poetic rapture, as in Keats' lines :

"Where the nightingale doth sing
Not a senseless tranced thing
But divine melodious truth
Philosophic numbers smooth."

All down through the ages this union of philosophy and literature has been evidenced in the work of all the great poets. The ancient religious literature of India, the Vedas, and especially the *Bhagavadgita*, offer us an indistinguishable combination of philosophy and poetry. The Dialogues of Plato supply the materials for one of the dominating philosophies of the world, and at the same time constitute one of the greatest literary possessions of humanity. In the *Phaedo* especially he discusses the philosophical problem of immortality, but he does so in passages of matchless beauty from an artistic point of view. Plato, conscious of this unity, makes Socrates say, "I thought that philosophy was the highest music and my life was spent in philosophy." And listen to these passages which are unsurpassed both for philosophic insight and pure literary grace; "Shall we believe that the soul, which is invisible, and which goes hence to a place which is like herself glorious, pure and invisible, to Hades, which is rightly called the unseen world, to dwell with good and wise God, whither, if it be the will of God, my soul too must shortly go;—shall we believe that the soul whose nature is so glorious, and pure, and invisible, is blown away by the winds and perishes as soon as she leaves the body, as the world says?" And again—from the same dialogue—"It is our duty to do one of two things. We must learn or we must discover for ourselves the truth of these matters; or, if that be impossible, we must take the best and most

irrefragable of human doctrines, and embarking on that, as on a raft, risk the voyage of life, unless a stronger vessel, some divine word, could be found, on which we might take our journey more safely and more securely." Is it possible to have the philosophic spirit and the longing for an apparently unattainable certainty described in more beautiful literary language?

And again, when we come to more modern times, what are we to say of the literary beauty of many of Bacon's philosophical essays, and the poetry of much of Berkeley's metaphysical prose? A complete philosophy of nature and of life may be extracted from Wordsworth's poetry, as well as a treatment of some specific problems. Occasionally the philosophy overweighs the poetry, but for the most part it is the inspiration of his most beautiful and sublime passages. Tennyson becomes a philosopher in many of his poems, treating of immortality in *In Memoriam*, and of pantheism in *The Higher Pantheism* and of Divine purposefulness in *Locksley Hall*; and in these poems he is by no means at his lowest level as a poet. Shelley is too confused in his thinking to be described as a philosopher, but he is not guiltless of the attempt. Matthew Arnold expounds the Stoic creed in his *Empedocles on Etna*, and Robert Browning is a philosopher through and through, especially when he is most a poet. Robert Bridges contributes much to philosophical thought in his *Testament of Beauty*, and perhaps one of the best examples of this union of which I am speaking is to be found in the poet of modern India, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, in regard to whom it is difficult to say whether his *Sādhana* is most truly described as philosophy or poetry.

We get another proof of the mutual implication of philosophy and poetry when we notice how frequently the problems of any given period are reflected as much in its poetry as in its

philosophy. A recent writer points out, *e.g.*, that the poets of to-day, if they are to be interpreters of their time, must interpret movement, and he gives many examples to prove his contention. He says that we no longer have poetry which seeks escape into a perfect world as a relief from earth's sorrows. There is according to this view no completed plan in God according to which he moulds us as the potter moulds the clay. We are no longer content to look up "to uses of a cup," or remain passive while the potter with his wheel of pain or sorrow rubs off the roughness of our life and turns us into what will one day be "heaven's consummate cup." We cannot accept life as already a rational whole, quoting all the while "God's in his heaven" and "All's right with the world;" or explain evil as the rushing in of discords that harmony may be prized, or pain as "the broken arc" in heaven's "perfect round," as Browning does. We demand not passivity but creative participation in activity, and the poetry of self-expression. The poetic impulse must be given free play without our very much caring about any philosophy of life which may be expressed. The poet's function is to keep from decay the divine element that is in man, not by turning our thoughts away to some other worldly existence, but by enabling us to make full use of the materials of life and joy which are ready to our hand. In any case production is held always to be much more valuable than that which is produced. To travel hopefully is better than to arrive, and even though there may not be much hope as to where we are to arrive, the counsel is that we should go on travelling cheerfully.

Now this tendency in modern poetry is in exact parallelism to the prevailing tendency in modern philosophy—the movement away from Bradley's conception of a finished universe already complete in the absolute and unrolling itself in the processes of

the world for spectacular purposes merely, a world-view in which the individual is of no ultimate importance. More recent thought is dominated rather by Bergsonian conceptions of creative energy in which the present is always producing something new and not merely unfolding that which is contained in the past according to a preconceived plan. There is a general transition in thought from what William James called the "tender-minded" view of life to the "tough-minded," in which life is regarded as a real struggle in which the participants really do share and are not merely parts of a complex machine kept going by providence. Poetry shares in this transition and thus gives further evidence of its natural affinity with philosophy.

The next question I wish to put is as to how this mutual helpfulness manifests itself. What service can philosophy render to poetry and *vice versa*. The writer from whom I have just quoted predicts that "poetry and religion are already preparing themselves for the renewal of an alliance which is very old," and he might have said the same about philosophy. The philosophic mind is a quieter mind than that of the poet, and perhaps more steadfast, and the poetic mind which is also philosophical is less liable to the waywardness of impulse. Philosophy is constantly occupied with the relation of eternity to time and spiritual to the material; the poet is apt to dwell in the two worlds alternately and listen to the voices of each. As Keats says :

"Bards of Passion and of Mirth
Ye have left your souls on earth
Ye have souls in heaven too
Double lived in regions new."

Perhaps the philosophic spirit makes it easier for the poet to blend the two voices and mingle the two souls.

Another service of the philosophic spirit arises from its primary

occupation with unity and harmony. It can exercise a restraining influence upon the extravagance and diffuseness of modern poetry. It is not satisfied with detached centres of energy unless it is also able to place these sources of energy in relation to the whole.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has some good counsel regarding this, and he, if any one, is a combination of philosopher and poet. He says,—of the individualist in life, indeed, but his remarks apply to the erratic literary men as well—“His appetites do not minister to his life, keeping to the limits of their purpose; they become an end in themselves and set fire to his life and play the fiddle in the lurid light of the conflagration. Thus it is that in our self-expression we try to startle and not to attract; in art we strive for originality and lose sight of truth which is old and yet ever new; in literature we miss the complete view of man which is simple and yet great. He appears as a psychological problem or the embodiment of a passion that is intense because abnormal and because exhibited in the glare of a fiercely emphatic light which is artificial. When man’s consciousness is restricted only to the immediate vicinity of his human self, the deeper roots of his nature do not find their permanent soil, his spirit is ever on the brink of starvation and in the place of healthful strength he substitutes rounds of stimulation. Then it is that man misses his inner perspective and measures his greatness by its bulk and not by its vital link with the infinite, judges his activity by his movement and not by the repose of perfection—the repose which is in the starry heavens, in the everflowing rhythmic dance of creation” (*Sādhana*, p. 11). I should like especially to stress these ideas of “startling” over against “attraction,” and the charges of abnormality and artificiality. There is also too great a readiness in modern times to substitute psychology for metaphysics both amongst philosophers and poets.

As regards the service which poetry may render to philosophy one illustration may suffice. Students of philosophy know how many dry disquisitions have been written on the paradox of hedonism, and how many weary hours they have spent wrestling with the problem of how it is that pleasure when deliberately sought seems to vanish. The philosopher puzzles over the mystery until his mind seems to get utterly confused, but the poet goes straight to the point and suggests rather than demonstrates the solution. Keats puts it negatively in the unforgettably beautiful lines

"At a touch sweet pleasure melteth
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth."

Dr. Tagore goes further and treats the matter more philosophically and yet poetically. "We must keep in mind," he says, "that the highest enjoyment of man is not in the having but in a getting which is at the same time not getting. Our physical pleasures leave no margin for the unrealised. In all our intellectual pleasures the margin is broader, the limit is far off. In our deeper love getting and non-getting run ever parallel. The most fleeting of our enjoyments are but the momentary touches of the eternal : " an echo of Wotton's lines

"Lord of himself, though not of lands,
And having nothing yet hath all : "

an echo also of Blake :

"He who binds to himself a joy
Doth the winged life destroy,
But he who kisses joy as it flies
Lives in eternity's sunrise."

I have spoken throughout of poetical treatment of great philosophical problems, and I wish I had time to illustrate by examples taken from the poets of all ages this poetical attitude to the great problems of human life. I should have liked, *e.g.*

to trace the treatment of the problem of immortality through Plato, through Vaughan who speaks of

"Those happy early days when I
Shined in my angel infancy"

through Wordsworth in his famous line "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting," through Tennyson in his well-known passages from *In Memoriam*, up to Browning—forward looking rather than backward looking—with his closing words

"Greet the unseen with a cheer
Bid him forward, breast and back as either should be
'Strive and Thrive,' cry, Speed—fight on, fare ever
There as here."

We might have traced the various phases of the mystical consciousness both poetical and philosophical, that sense of the unity of all things, of the everlasting harmony, even slightly in Dryden who speaks of how

"From Harmony, from heavenly Harmony
This universal frame began ;"

but still more evidently and deeply expressed in Wordsworth, Tennyson and Tagore. I should have liked to have shown how the two phases of pantheism are unmistakably to be traced in Wordsworth—the negative when he speaks of

"That false secondary power
By which we multiply distinctions"

and the positive, when he speaks

"The ever living Universe
Turn where I might was opening out its glories"

and again

"The sentiment of Being spread
Over all that moves and all that seemeth still."

I should have liked to have touched upon the poetic reconciliation of freedom and necessity, the revolt of the best poets against rigid law and against unfettered license, and the supreme reconciliation in

love ; the revolt of the poet against custom together with his appreciation of the influence of the past, as well as the oft repeated expression of confidence in the fundamental laws of righteousness everlasting as the stars that guard the principles of truth.

But these I must leave for your own study. I think I have said enough to show that in all these questings of the spirit philosopher and poet are at one in endeavour and in accomplishment. They always have been and always will be united in their great task of the deliverance of man, and this union will never be broken in the minds of any of us—whatever our powers of expression may be—so long as we are conscious of the

“One great society alone on earth
The noble living and the noble dead ;”

and so long as we realise that

“Whether we be young or old
Our destiny, our being's heart and home
Is with infinitude and only there
With hope it is, hope that can never die
Effort and expectation and desire
And something evermore about to be.”

THE INFLUENCE OF EVOLUTION ON CHRISTIAN THOUGHT *

It is undoubtedly true that a great many difficulties have been caused through the influence of evolution on religious thought. Indeed, the difficulties have to some appeared so serious, that they have been tempted to wish that such a theory as that of evolution had never been heard of, and that they had been left in the undisturbed possession of a traditional faith. But the wish that the evolutionary theory had not made its way into the notice of thinking men and of religious men is about as vain as the proverbial beggar's wish. The theory of evolution has come to stay. In some form or other it is the only satisfactory method of describing the facts, and it is accepted by all deeply thinking scientific and religious men. To attempt to defend religion, and in particular orthodox Christianity, by denying evolution, is like using a sponge to mop up the waters of the Ganges. Why should we make these futile attempts? Let us look at the facts brought to light by evolution fairly and squarely. We shall find, I think, that there is no antagonism between these facts and the verities of our holy faith, and that evolution properly understood may be welcomed as an ally rather than as an enemy. What, then, is this evolution which summons the thinking Christian man of modern times to such profound consideration? We may, perhaps, best arrive at an understanding of it by way of contrast. The older conception of how the world came into being was, that at a definite point of time—perhaps 6,000 years ago—the world was suddenly

*Reprinted from The Young Men of India.

and, as it were, completely brought into being by a single act of the creative will of God. The various species of plants and animals were regarded as quite separate from one another, and each one was supposed to owe its character simply to the will of God. Nothing was due to the influence of any one species on another. In particular, human beings constituted a unique creation of God, and it was considered derogatory both to human beings and to God himself to connect their form and character with those of any other created beings. It was felt that only by looking on things in this way could the dependence of the whole world on God be secured. And the truth of this conception seemed to be reinforced by the description given of creation in the opening chapters of Genesis.

The theory of evolution—especially connected with the name of Darwin—seemed to contradict everything that had previously been held as true. In the first place, the *time* at which the world had been created was pushed very much farther back—so far back that the origins of the world seemed almost to be lost sight of, and men began to wonder whether it had ever been *created* at all. There is always a tendency to think of what is immeasurably old as having had no beginning. And without doubt evolution made the beginnings of things seem so remote as to conceal them almost from our view. The evidence of geologists was taken, and they spoke of the age of the rocks, and laughed at the conception of a few short thousands of years as being sufficient to explain all the various stages through which the world had passed before it was fit even to be the abode of life. And in these rocks of immemorial age, fossils were found—the remains of prehistoric animals which must have been in existence long before the time assigned to the beginnings of life by the old-fashioned popular view. And yet these ancient animals presented many points of resemblance with the animals we now

know, and it seemed at least possible that the species of to-day might have been descended from these ancestors. Resemblances were found next between actually existing species, and the theory was put forward that, even if these species were not derived from one another, they must have been descended from some common ancestors. It was held that, given a long enough time, all the animals we now know might have come from a few common types, and even these might also be derived from some one kind of living world-stuff. There was no sufficient reason for refusing this adequate amount of time, and no obstacle in the way of accepting the main theory of evolution, that from a nebulous homogeneous matter all the infinite variety of our present world might have been derived, by progressive change according to certain fixed laws. The process seemed to require no explanation outside of itself, and it was universal in its sweep. Even man was included in the conception. He was but a more advanced animal, derived from the animals highest in the scale in the same way as they had been derived from animals lower in the scale. The laws by which advance and progress were secured were various, but most prominent amongst them were the laws of the survival of the fittest and natural selection. For some unexplained reason each animal shows a tendency to vary and the number of living beings at any given time is always greatly in advance of the number which the earth can comfortably support. Consequently, there will be a struggle amongst them, and the result of the struggle will be that those varieties which are most fitted to take advantage of the sources of food, etc., supplied by the environment, will survive, while the others will go to the wall. There is thus a constant impulse onwards, leading to the formation of new types, and we have no difficulty in explaining how even the highest creature known to us—man himself—can thus have been developed.

For a long time it was held that, even if no Creator was necessary for the several distinct species, and in order to explain the transition from one form of species to another, yet there were several gaps in Nature which the evolutionary theory could not explain, and which necessitated the calling in of the conception of a creative Principle. Such gaps were the transition from non-living to living matter, from life to mind. Life has never yet, it is argued, been produced from the non-living, nor has the mental been produced from the merely physical. But scientists of a naturalistic tendency urge that this interior line of defence cannot be held—that the fact that a thing has not yet been done is no proof that it may not yet be done. We may challenge them in this respect, but in the meantime we may notice simply their assertion—that there is no place left anywhere in Nature for the operation of creative activity, and no need for any such conception. We may sum up the strictly scientific and non-religious view of evolution in the words of Mr. Griffith Jones, to whose book, *The Ascent Through Christ*, this article owes much. "Evolution is a continuous progressive change, according to certain laws, by means of resident forces".

Before we go on to discuss in greater detail the effect of evolution upon Christian doctrine, we may notice that the view of evolution we have hitherto been exhibiting is rather one sided. It lays too much emphasis upon the mechanical and rigorously necessary development of everything out of a merely material source, and it ignores too obstinately the necessity of any other—more spiritual—principle of explanation. But, fortunately, it does not give the only possible interpretation of evolution. A great part of what follows will be devoted towards showing that a *truer conception of evolution* is in no way contradictory to Christian doctrine. In the meantime we may simply suggest one or two objections to the purely mechanical point of view. It

ought to be a fairly obvious principle that you cannot take more out of a box than there is in it. Now the evolution theory which professes to derive life and mind from some primitive substance, which does not contain the germs of either life or mind, is obviously contravening this principle. You may extend the evolutionary process over as many millions of years as you please, but it will not enable you to produce something out of nothing. The cause, as we learn from our logic books, must be adequate to the effect. If life and mind appear in the effect, there must be something corresponding to them in the original ground of things, unless, indeed, you are to provide some adequate cause of their introduction at a later stage in the process. The purely scientific or mechanical evolutionists provide no such cause. The "fixed laws" on which they lay so much stress *are not causes*. The law of Natural Selection, *e.g.*, is merely like a body of examiners. It sits in judgment upon the variations which have somehow or other arisen, but it does not explain how these varieties have arisen. You might as well expect Calcutta University to be responsible for the birth and upbringing of the various candidates appearing at the Matriculation examination. It is quite as well able to act thus as the law of natural selection is able to account for the production of life and mind out of non-living matter.

Again, we may accept all that evolution has to tell us about continuous progress from the simple to the complex, and from the lowest forms of being to the highest, and yet insist upon judging the whole process from the highest point of view rather than from the lowest. Man is surely the highest world-product that we know, and it is therefore legitimate to assume that the qualities we find in man must be used for the explanation of the world-process as a whole, and that no explanation can be adequate which does not place at the origin of the world a being possessing

at least as elevated qualities as we find in man. Evolution, properly interpreted, must admit the necessity of mental and spiritual qualities for the explanation of the world.

Further, we must also take account of that sense of the spiritual world which is possessed by man. We are continually aware that *this* world is not everything. There is within each of us a sense of mystery, a feeling that beyond the world of matter and of life, beyond even the world of mind, there is the unfathomable world of the spirit. We have an intuitive perception of a relationship to this 'beyond,' and for the best of men it is the most real part of their consciousness. The theory of its evolution, if it is to be true to its scientific claims, must also give an explanation of this part of human experience, and I submit that it cannot do so without admitting that this world of developing matter with which it so largely deals is not a closed system; that merely "resident forces" are not sufficient for its explanation; but that it is in constant interaction with a world—a divine world—which is greater than the world of matter and of physical life.

Having made, then, these alterations in, and additions to, the purely scientific view of evolution, having pointed out where it must provide fuller explanation than it frequently does, if it is to be regarded as philosophically adequate, we may point out the valuable emphasis it lays upon *order*, *continuity* and *progress*, and proceed to consider the effect which it has upon certain particular doctrines to the Christian faith.

Its effect on the doctrine of the Inspiration of the Bible. We need not be at all afraid of holding that God's revelation of Himself is progressive, and that, therefore, the Bible record of this revelation is also progressive. The older theory of verbal inspiration would have it that the whole of our Bible was dictated by God in the form in which we now have it; that

the inspired writers, as it were, simply held the pen and were told by God what to write. The inference from this is, of course, that every word of the Bible is directly inspired, that not even the slightest verbal or historical inaccuracies can be admitted, and that every part of it is of the same value, the morality and spirituality of the Old Testament in every way being just as high as those of the New Testament. If, however, under the influence of the evolution theory we hold that revelation must be progressive, we are immediately relieved of many difficulties. We may hold that God revealed Himself to the writers of the Bible not in any mechanical way, but by making use of their faculties when these faculties were most fully developed. But we may hold also that His inspiration of them did not take them out of the current of evolutionary progress. It has been said that if a man is to see God he must be like God, and can we not realise how gradual is the process by which man is educated up to a likeness to God? Through inadequate conceptions men were led on to more adequate conceptions. God taught them by word and deed, here a little and there a little, slowly and patiently. Crude conceptions of God's nature, according to which He appeared simply as a magnified man and a somewhat cruel one at that, had to be got rid of; narrow conceptions of morality had to be broadened, until the conception of a duty to humanity might emerge and an ideal of human nature might be understood, which should be firmly based on well-considered views of the universe and of God. It is to such a conception of progressive revelation that the Bible corresponds, and this enables us at once to see that all parts of it cannot be regarded as of the same value. The earlier stages must be regarded as leading on to and finding their completion in the later, and as deriving their value from the fact that they are a preparation for the later. This does not in the least

detract from the value of the Bible as a whole. It rather increases that value, for we connect with it the conception of orderly and progressive development, with which evolution has made us familiar. The Bible is not a series of detached portions but a unity, and it must be interpreted as a unity. It is the record of a gradual unfolding of God's purposes, and can be understood only in the fullest light which can be thrown upon these purposes. This fullest light we get from Jesus Christ, and the theory of evolution allows us to bring the whole Bible into organic relation with Him. It allows us to interpret the lower by means of the higher, or, in other words, to use the revelation of Christ as a test of the whole Biblical revelation. We judge that to be inspired which enters into the historical development leading up to Christ. In other words, we go to the Bible with a reasonable principle, *viz.*, the question—What can I find of Christ there? We interpret the Old Testament by means of the New Testament. We read revelation backward in the light of what it has arrived at, and by so doing it becomes to us of infinitely greater value. We do not now believe in Christ because we believe in the Bible; we believe in the Bible because we find Christ there, because we regard the Biblical revelation as progressive and continuous until it culminates in Christ. Evolution properly interpreted is of the utmost value to us in helping us towards a fuller appreciation of the doctrine of revelation.

What are we to say next of the relation of evolution to the *contents* of the Bible, and, in particular, to the Biblical account of the creation of the world? I know that many people have found a very great difficulty in reconciling the opening chapters of Genesis with the evolutionary account of creation. We may say at once that there is no difficulty, unless we hold a theory of evolution which dispenses with the necessity of God altogether, and, as we have seen, it is only a narrow theory

which attempts to explain the world altogether without reference to God. Evolution, properly speaking, is only an account of the method in which God created the world, and should not be taken as necessarily denying the fact that God did create the world. Now the first point that Genesis emphasises is just this fact, that the world came from God, and with this evolution may agree.

The writer of the Book of Genesis is no scientist. He looks out on the world as a plain religious man, and he enquires about the meaning of all that he sees—the earth, the sun and the moon and the stars. He is not concerned about their inner nature or about their relation to one another, all these things he leaves for the scientist of the generations yet unborn. He asks only the simple question, "Who made them?" And his answer is, "God." Then, because the manner of the divine working is unknown to him, and is in any case of much lesser importance than the fact that God *has* worked in the creation, he proceeds to give a poetical and dramatic account of the work of creation. The poetic form in which it has been put shows that the writer makes not the slightest claim that his account should be regarded as literally accurate. He puts his representation in the form of the picture of a man going out to his week's work, labouring six days and resting at the end of the week. He does not enter into the question of the geological age of the world at all, and he takes the ordinary conceptions of the stage of the world from the popular knowledge of his day. The sky is a great arch, dividing the upper waters from the lower, and the sun is of quite secondary importance to the earth, the former being created only to give light to the latter. Does this make his teaching any less impressive? It does not seem quite fair to accuse a man of being unscientific when he never intended to be scientific. We do not expect scientific accuracy from any

modern poet, such as Shakespeare, Tennyson or Browning. Why should we expect it from this older poet of the divine book, the Bible, especially when he is more intoxicated with, or wrapt up in, his subject than these more modern writers? Do not compare the account of Genesis with the modern scientific account. You may get a more accurate description of the details of the whole from the latter, but you will not get so adequate an impression of the *meaning* of the whole. The comparison really does not hold, because the two accounts belong to wholly different classes, and the one could not possibly give you what the other gives. In the same way it is impossible that the one should contradict the other. One statement can contradict another only if both are made about the same subject matter. In the one case here the subject matter is the world, viewed from the point of view of its divine meaning and purpose; in the other, it is the world analysed into its scientific components. Comparison falls to the ground, and we therefore cannot be troubled by any supposed contradiction.

We may further reassure ourselves by remembering our previous statement, that evolution in general need not necessarily be conceived in such a manner as to exclude God. If we wish to compare the Biblical account with any other account, we should put it rather alongside of Assyrian, and Egyptian accounts of the origin of the world, and we shall see at once how infinitely superior it is in purity and in sanity. It has an imperishable value even to the present day. It supplies a need that mere science can never supply. It prevents our interest in the details of the world, whether that interest be scientific or practical, from excluding from our mind the thought of God. As one writer has said of the Genesis story: "It is the world's morning chant of the goodness and the beauty of the Creator's activity in the making of all that was, and is, and is to come;

and to the world's evening, in the dim future, it will continue to voice the highest and devoutest mood of humanity in looking at the earthly home in which it dwells and works and aspires."

Before leaving the subject of evolution and creation, I should like to refer once more to the general relation, in order to emphasise the statement already made that there is no opposition between evolution and a divine origin of the world. The purely scientific evolutionists have laid such stress on the laws of the process of evolution and on the time which the world has taken to develop to its present state—the latest estimate is two millions of years since man appeared on the earth—that they have invited us almost to believe that the process itself with its laws is a sufficient explanation of the whole. But mere law is no explanation. It is not a force or a cause; it is merely a description of how the force or cause works. Nor by mere lengthening and elaborating of the process does matter without God become sufficient for the explanation of the world. Mr. Balfour said recently that materialism is now an impossible creed, and that we now know too much about matter to regard it as a possible explanation of the world. In reference to this particular subject of creation let me simply remind you of the general statement I made a little ago, to the effect that you can never take out of a box more than you put in. Apply it to the present problem and you will at once see how hopeless it is to derive from matter an explanation of the present variety of the world. And then, what about these gaps in the evolutionary process which we have already noticed—the gap between the non-living and the living, and between life and mind? Is not something more than nature of a material kind needed to explain the bridging of these gaps? Does it not seem as if some higher principle were necessary to work upon the original matter of the evolutionist and introduce these

new phases which become apparent in life and mind and which mere matter cannot account for?

Still, we should not lay too much stress upon this aspect of the matter, and think that our main proof of divine creation rests upon the failures of science. We should rather dwell upon the *success* of science and conceive of that success as even greater than it has hitherto been, conceive of science as bridging these gaps I have referred to and showing how matter leads up to life and life to mind. I should like you to think of science as doing everything which it claims to do and which it is legitimate for it to attempt, and yet find in this very success of science the highest proof of the working of God. God should not be thought of as necessary merely to give the first push to the world and start it on its course of evolutionary development, nor as interfering only in connection with problems left unsolved by science. After all this is a precarious method of argument: it means that the more science succeeds the less room there is for God. Whereas the argument ought to be that the more science succeeds, the more clearly apparent is the working of God. Let us rather think of God as working not only at the beginning but throughout the process, not at intervals but in a normal regular manner. Then it seems to me that if we take this point of view, evolution is of immense service to our faith in God. It helps us to worship God more intelligently and more adequately. It adds dignity to our conception of God's working, for it is surely much more dignified and a sign of much greater intelligence for a man to work out some great scheme than to indulge in merely impulsive and spasmodic action. Why should we not apply this consideration to God? I cannot in the very least conceive why it should seem to be more glorious that God should create the entire universe all of a sudden than that he should have

created it by an elaborate process—a process of which the theory of evolution, mark you, has enabled us to see the greatness and the grandeur more than ever we have done before. God has seemed, since I knew something about the theory of evolution, immeasurably grander and greater. As a recent writer, Prof. J. Arthur Thomson, has said—"There is a solemnity in the patience of the age-long adventure, which has crowned the evolutionary process upon earth." And the glory of this crown—man himself—is surely increased in importance and in dignity by the elaborateness of the means which have been used to bring him into being. The majesty of God becomes greater and man is raised up to a height from which he may hope to enter into communion with God—through the help of the theory of evolution. It makes us feel also the greatness of the universe, and how magnificent is the God who made such a universe. Of the evolutionary theory in reference to creation we may say what Clerk Maxwell said in a more general way, "I have looked into most philosophical systems, and I have seen that none will work without a God."

I now wish to turn to the effect of evolution on the doctrine of the Fall, both generally and as this is set forth in Genesis. We may be willing to put man at the culmination of the evolutionary process, but, when we do so, we are thinking mainly of the human race. We find difficulty in singling out a particular man and a particular woman as the sole ancestors of the human race, and still more difficulty in transforming into a world-tragedy—having effect upon countless millions yet unborn—the apparently simple act of disobedience in eating the forbidden fruit. Further, the importance of the progressive element in evolution makes us reluctant to accept the idea of a fall from a state of primitive innocence. We say that, even if the progress has been slower than it might have been, it has yet

been a progress—in that every stage has been an advance on previous stages and the first stage must have been the lowest of all. Scientifically we have not a fall but an advance.

As regards the group of difficulties centring in the uniqueness of Adam and Eve and the significance of their particular action, it does not seem to be necessary to regard the story of Adam and Eve as more than a parable. We do not insist that the parables of Christ should be taken as literally true—why should we insist upon this in the case of the author of Genesis and his story of Adam and Eve? I do not wish to disturb those who find no difficulty in the literal view, but I am speaking more with a view to those who find great difficulty in accepting this view, and I say that they need not trouble their heads overmuch, for the value of the story is in no way damaged by our regarding it as a parable. Adam and Eve are the symbols of the human race as it first emerged into self-consciousness, and their action in eating the fruit is a symbol of that which has unfortunately taken place in connection with the human race over and over again whenever men have first become conscious of the law, and of their freedom to obey it or not, and, then, with this consciousness of freedom, have deliberately turned away and followed a lower impulse. In the story of Adam you see what *you* also have done, and the theory of evolution, binding you as it does organically with the first ancestors of the race, makes you feel that you have inherited the weaknesses and disabilities connected with the sin of these ancestors and that, in other words, the sin of Adam has also become your sin. A much greater difficulty is the difficulty whether the *teaching* of this story of Adam and Eve is true or not. May we, while holding the doctrine of evolution, believe in the possibility of a fall from a state of primitive holiness and innocence? Must we not rather believe in an advance all along the line? In

the first place we may point out that the scientific study of the world, under the guidance of evolution, by no means excludes the possibility of a fall. There is degeneracy both in the plant and animal world. The utmost that we can prove is progress on the whole, including progress in particular parts accompanied by retrogression in other parts. But, putting aside this line of defence, we must beware of increasing our difficulties. We must not exaggerate the evil of the primitive state by false analogies, nor must we exaggerate its goodness by confusion between holiness and innocence. Scientists look at degenerate savage races of the present day, and say, "Surely if our first parents were like these you must admit that we have advanced." But these races of the present day have inherited the effects of sin, and an analogy between them and races which were in existence at the time when the consciousness of sin first emerged is not legitimate. Secondly, it has been pointed out, e.g., by Griffith Jones, that we borrow our conception of the moral qualities of primitive man too much from the Adam of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. We think of him as a noble creature, able to reason on all kinds of abstruse questions and a paragon of proved and tested virtue. The fact is that in a certain sense the fall represents an advance upon a state of pure innocence in pretty much the same sense as the first wrong act of a child represents an advance upon an infant who knows not good and evil. It may be called an advance in that in the first stage the man is capable of doing *neither* good or evil, and in the second stage though as a matter of fact he does evil and herein *falls* most unmistakably, he is capable of doing *either* good or evil. Properly speaking the man before the fall and the man after the fall do not belong to the same class, and therefore a comparison is not strictly in place. The true comparison which is suggested by the word *fall* is not between sinful man and

man in his state of innocency, but between man as he is and man as he might have been if he had not fallen. Take an example. When a student is unfortunate enough not to pass the B.A. examination you do not regard him as having fallen below the standard of a Matriculation student; you regard him as having fallen below the standard of the successful B. A. student. Similarly the Biblical doctrine of the fall is not that man has departed from a primitive state of perfect virtue, but that he has not developed on the lines on which he might have developed; and on this view, I see not the slightest discrepancy between the teaching of Scripture and the teaching of science. We need not have any fear that the teaching of evolution minimises the great spiritual truth of the fall, provided we are sufficiently on our guard against being taught by science to think that sin is a physical and therefore necessary thing, and provided that we remember always that it is from the very beginning the result of the free choice of self-conscious human beings.

Let us next take up the doctrine of Incarnation, and see what effect evolution has had upon it. We saw in the last sentence that there is a slight danger lest we might take a merely naturalistic view of sin, and regard it as a physical process, practically inevitable. Each succeeding stage of the world's history would be the absolutely necessary outcome of the preceding stage. If there is sin in the world at any point this sin must continue through the ages without any possibility of relief or redemption. We saw, however, that there is no need to take a view of evolution which excludes the continuous action of God. Sin is a matter of the moral sphere and it may be dealt with by God on a higher level than that of the merely natural. If it has arisen from the free choice of man, it may be removed by the free choice of God, working morally upon the wills of men. Even the analogy of physical nature

might help us to see the reasonableness of divine action here. Where there is degeneration in nature there is usually compensation by action in some other department. So why should not God act in the case of human sin? For the setting right of that which has gone so greatly wrong? The method which God has adopted is Incarnation, and I should like you here to consider how great is the value of evolution in enabling us to take elevated views of incarnation. The favourite doctrine in Indian sacred literature and in Indian religion is the doctrine of repeated incarnation: Krishna says in the *Gita*—"Whenever there is a decay of the law and an ascendancy of lawlessness I create myself. For the protection of the good and the destruction of evil doers, and for the establishment of the law, I am born age after age." This idea of repeated incarnation is the explanation of the innumerable gods and goddesses who crowd Hindu mythology. Now it does not seem to me that this is a particularly dignified idea. The most important works are not repeated in this meaningless and mechanical way. Why should we imagine that God's work in redemption is like the method of a child at play? Let us take the help of evolution and view the world as one great consistent scheme of progress full of meaning, which meaning is unfolded with ever growing clearness from age to age. This conception of modern science will help us to appreciate the grand idea of the Bible that God gradually prepared the way for the coming of Christ and that when the fulness of time was come he sent forth his Son—into a world that was reasonable through and through and was worthy of being the abode of God Himself. Evolution helps us to a truer idea of Incarnation.

The next question that will be raised by the modern thinker is in reference to the Virgin Birth. It will be asked whether it is not an utterly unscientific idea that any human

life could come into existence except in the ordinary way of parentage. I am not so sure that the idea is so unscientific even from the point of view of pure science. But I would lay greater stress on the fact that we are yet to a large extent ignorant of the conditions of the production of life. In particular we are ignorant of the exact relation of mind to matter and of the spiritual world to the material world. If we reject the idea of the material world as a closed system—as I think we must—we open the door to unlimited possibilities in the way of the production of life. Why should not the divine power for so great a purpose use unusual means? We do not know enough to say that the use of such means is impossible. Therefore for those who have difficulties in this matter I would suggest that they do not let this difficulty hinder them at the outset of their study of the value of Christ, but that they should endeavour to gain such a conception and appreciation of the greatness of the life of Christ, that they should so realise his value for their own souls, that he will stand out for them as worthy to be the supreme purpose of God and therefore as necessitating for his incarnation even the most unusual means. Think of what Christ came to do. Think of how he came to break the succession of the power of sin, of how he came to symbolise the union of God and man, and the Virgin Birth will seem to you natural in the highest degree. It signifies, as nothing else could, an interruption in the chain of hereditary sin, and it signifies in the most simple way also the union of God and man. Remember the words of the angel to the Virgin: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee."

We may use the same method of thought in regard to the Resurrection of Christ. Under the influence of evolution we shall see the deepest possible unity between the life and the

death of Christ, and, impressed by the grandeur of both, we shall let our thought travel onwards to the resurrection, and shall echo in our minds the truth of the saying in reference to Christ that it was impossible he should be "holden of death." The resurrection will seem to us the most natural manifestation of the power of God in regard to such a life as that of Christ. It will be the most fitting declaration of the uniqueness of that life and the explicit establishment of the human experience of Christ as worthy to be raised to the divine level, the placing of him as the permanent link between God and man. Christ is now shown clearly as the expansion or development of God's action in regard to man, the accomplishment of the first stage of God's redemption of humanity. Our conception of God's relation to the world has become fuller. We have no longer in our minds merely the natural world and a somewhat abstract God standing over against this, but the God who comes into relation with the world of men is now the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The next difficulty I should like to touch upon is in regard to the *uniqueness* of Christ. If our minds are filled with the conception of the idea of development are we not bound to say either that Christ is not the perfect revelation of God and that we must allow the possibility of the appearance of still more complete revelations, or that, if Christ is perfect, he should have been reserved to the end of the process and should not have come midway in the course of it? In reply to this I would say that we may take Christ as the perfect development, and yet allow any amount of room for development of our conceptions of Christ and for the completion of the work of the redemption of humanity which was begun when he appeared as a historical person on earth. There is nothing unreasonable in the appearance of an ideal midway in course of development.

This is just the putting into fact of the whole method of moral action. If we are striving to realise an ideal in ordinary human conduct, we want to know *what* we should realise. In Christ we have the provision of this ideal, not in idea only, but in fact. Christ is the model set up in history which the whole subsequent generations of men have to attempt to copy. He is also the source of the power, and is there anything unreasonable in the gift to us by God of power to carry out further His purposes? Must we wait until the end of the process before we get this gift of power?

There would be reason in the demand that we must expect fuller revelation of God than we have in Christ only if we were dissatisfied with Christ. But are we? Surely we are dissatisfied only with our interpretation of Christ and with the realisation of his spirit in humanity. There does not seem to me to be the slightest reason for thinking that to regard Christ as the final revelation of God is inconsistent with the notion of development. Surely there is enough to be done. Surely we have many stages to go through before we have filled up in humanity that which remains of the sufferings of Christ, before we have brought all men into the relations with God which are typified to us in Christ. We do not need to go beyond Christ, but we need to advance in our conception and service of Christ. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit seems here to be in accordance with the teaching of evolution. He is gradually to reveal all things to us, in that age-long development in which we shall learn more fully of the mind of Christ and do more perfectly his will.

God's working on the world through Christ most assuredly did not come to an end with his historical death and resurrection. From the earliest Christian centuries until now his Spirit has been working. We have still to discern the signs of the time and find out his will for us in this twentieth century, not by

going back to the first century or to the fifteenth or to the nineteenth, but by tracing the gradual evolution of the Holy Spirit or the gradual manifestation of it in the Holy Church of Christ. Let us apply the spirit of evolution to our individual experience and to our church experience. Trust God with our souls and with our churches. If old ideas seem difficult, let us not force ourselves into the conceptions of our fathers, but let us remember that we have to take the past as the guide of the future and not as the shroud of all new-born ideas and forward impulses. Let us give up the attempt to model the Church of the twentieth century on the Church of the first and second centuries. It is little short of pitiful that we should be spending so much mental energy on discussions as to the particular form of church government in the early centuries. We may have our own opinions on what that particular form was, but it does not matter whether we are right or wrong. The important matter is what is the form of church government *now* which God would have us set up. I believe that in all the changes and in all the variations of the centuries God has been speaking to us and that we are supremely distrustful of his Spirit if we think that we must always look backwards instead of forwards. Let us be scientific in this matter as becomes modern men. Let us be scientific, I say, and we shall find that we are also religious, for God is not the God of the dead but of the living and 'through the ages an increasing purpose runs.'

It is this faith that evolution does so much to strengthen, and for this faith we must thank God. We find more and more that we are the heirs of the ages and we find also that the past holds within it the promise of the future. But it is a promise of the future only for those who are willing to learn the lessons of the past and, having learned them, to

transcend the forms which the past has used. Only thus shall we be faithful to the Christ who does not lie in his rock-hewn tomb near Calvary, but ever liveth and reigneth.

In conclusion, I should like just to suggest a thought borrowed from evolution in regard to the future life. We have grappled to our souls the idea of development. Does this not come into contradiction with the idea that at death our state is fixed for evermore, and that, according to the state of our souls at that dread moment, so will our state be all through eternity? I cannot find that anywhere in Scripture it is said that the final judgment will be passed at death. But let us not think that therefore we may grow careless and put off our decision for righteousness and for Christ. No! For one application of this suggestion is that the judgment may be passed even before death, that it may be possible to reject so definitely the offer made to us in Christ that we fix our doom for ever. That is the solemn warning side of the matter. But the other side is this, that for those who have never had a chance, for those to whom the offer of salvation through Christ or in the spirit of Christ has never been made in this life, there may be a chance given in another life so that they also may take upon themselves the full burden of responsibility and accept or reject the salvation of their souls.

And for ourselves who have had that chance and have endeavoured to be faithful, we may take this last message from the doctrine of evolution, that we shall not simply be put all together into a nondescript and characterless kind of future life, but that we shall carry with us the kind of souls we have faithfully formed in this life. In the presence of Christ and of God these souls will go on developing through the mercy of Christ, as the souls of all men might have developed had there been no sin in the world through the fall of the

first ancestors of the human race—go on developing through the ages, until that time beyond the limits of time when the restoration of all things shall be complete and the eternal God shall be all in all.

ŚĀṆKARA AND PROF. JAMES WARD*

The old adage that "Great minds think alike," receives repeated illustration ; and I propose, in this short paper, to draw attention to certain parallels which seem to present themselves, over a gap of a thousand years, between the great religious metaphysician of India and one of the foremost psychologists of the present day in the West. The comparison will be restricted to the doctrine of the Self, as held by the two philosophers, and as set forth in the recently published "Psychological Principles" of Dr. Ward and in Śāṅkara's Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. Some striking similarities appear, and the placing of the two conceptions side by side may be illuminating in regard to the difficulties of both. But *can* a useful comparison be instituted between a metaphysician and a psychologist? Notwithstanding Dr. Ward's continual protest against confusion between Epistemology (which may be taken to constitute a part of Metaphysics) and Psychology, we think that such a comparison is possible, especially if, as in this case, the psychologist is a good deal of a metaphysician and the metaphysician a good deal of a psychologist. Moreover the problem of the Self is just one of those problems which are on the border-line between psychology and metaphysics, and in regard to which no clear and definite line of separation can be drawn. The psychological analysis of the Self must ultimately lead to metaphysics, and Dr. Ward's treatment is no exception to this general statement.

By "self-consciousness" Dr. Ward means, "not the consciousness that we attribute to every self, but the consciousness of this consciousness," a consciousness attained only gradually and by

*Reprinted from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes.

a limited number of experiments. He distinguishes between the self-known, which he calls the empirical Ego or the *Me*, and the self-knowing, which he calls the pure Ego or the *I*, and he proposes a threefold line of inquiry, with two phases of which we are mainly concerned. In these he sets forth on the one hand "the content and gradual elaboration of the presentation of self as experience develops," and, on the other hand, "the meaning and justification of the existential proposition "I am" that in the light of it all seems to become explicit." The close union of psychology and metaphysics in such an inquiry is obvious.

But, first of all, let us dwell for a little on the distinction between the psychological and epistemological points of view from which Dr. Ward starts in his argument. He joins issue at once with those who hold that because the conception of the pure Ego is fundamental and therefore underivable, it is psychologically a simple presentation. He sees in this a relic of the old "substance" theory, according to which it might be suggested that the self could exist without acting, and he would have agreed with Hume in his scepticism, provided Hume had restricted that scepticism to the self as a datum of sense, and had not proceeded to apply it to the absolute existence of the self. He regards Berkeley's use of the term "notion" as also an attempt to emphasise the idea that the self is not *given* as a datum of sense, though he might object to certain implications of the term "notion" as used by Berkeley.

Now, in this protest of Dr. Ward's against confusion between the empirical *Me* and the pure *Ego*, and against the resulting attempt to treat the pure Ego as an object, presentational or conceptual, there seems to be an interesting parallel with Śāṅkara's warning against transferring the qualities of the subject to the object, and of the object to the subject. According to him the

two are opposed as darkness and light; they are the sphere of the real and the unreal respectively. Confusion between them is both the result and the producer of false knowledge. The attempt to treat the pure Ego as an object, as a datum of sense, as a substance, as a concept amongst other concepts, binds us more firmly in the chains of ignorance. We shall never reach the ultimate nature of the Self, if we superimpose upon it the qualities of the object. It is indeed a natural error of the human soul. We are constantly transferring the qualities of outer things to the self, we are clothing it in the data of our ordinary experience. Śaṅkara himself gives copious illustrations of the process in the opening paragraphs of his Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. "Extra-personal attributes are superimposed on the Self, if a man considers himself sound and entire, or the contrary, as long as his wife, children and so on are sound or entire or not. Attributes of the body are superimposed on the Self, if a man thinks of himself as stout, lean, fair, as standing, walking or jumping.....In this way there goes on this natural beginning—and endless superimposition which appears in the form of wrong conception, is the cause of individual souls appearing as agents and enjoyers, and is observed by every one" (Dr. Thibaut's translation of Śaṅkara's Commentary, p. 8). Yet, however natural the confusion may be, detection and correction of it are absolutely necessary, if we are to reach a true understanding of the self. The motive in Dr. Ward's case may be the completion of psychological investigation, and in Śaṅkara's case the penetration of metaphysical reality, but their attitude to this great question seems to be wonderfully similar. They are both impressed at the outset by the impossibility of treating the pure Ego as an object amongst other objects. They differ however in the consistency and rigour with which they apply this indispensable condition of true knowledge, and in

the conclusions regarding the reality of the pure Ego of the individual which they respectively draw from the premises in which they agree.

But before we go on to these deeper questions we may note certain surface similarities between the Vedantic teaching and the teaching of Dr. Ward upon the development of the conception of the empirical *Me*. The western psychologist traces the development through three stages. There is first of all the sensitive and appetitive self, in the construction of which the body is the fundamental element. The body may be distinguished in the field of space from other bodies. The action of other bodies upon it is accompanied by pleasure or pain, and the reactions of the feelings set the body in motion. It, therefore, gives us the primary basis of the individuality and permanence which we attribute to the self. On the second level, memories and hopes play a larger part. As the imagining and desiring self we occupy a smaller zone within the self of the body. We are made up of desires and emotions. We live in a "pictorial world of things past and things possible," but at the same time we have not left behind us organic perturbations and motor presentations. These are sufficient to give a sort of inner body or vestment of the self, as Dr. Ward would put it.

On the third level—the intellectual level—we reach the conception of the self as a person who determines or controls his appetites and desires, his hopes and his fears. To this conception of the self we are largely helped by intersubjective intercourse. We interpret ourselves on the analogy of others. According to Adam Smith conscience is a social product, and according to Dr. Ward consciousness of the self is the product of the same kind of process. As we are spectators of others so we become spectators of ourselves. "It is through the 'us' that we learn of the 'me'." We become conscious of ourselves as persons, forming a more or less self-contained unity, capable

of thinking and of acting, retaining some traces of emotional resonance and bodily affection, sufficient at least to afford a basis for the regarding of ourselves as objects—objects of the pure Ego which still eludes our efforts after presentation.

Now, certain minor similarities may be noticed between this teaching and Vedantic teaching. The second level is compared to the dream world in both systems. When the senses are drawn inwards, when we become independent of impressions from the external world, we live in the world, as it were, of dreams. The very language of Dr. Ward strengthens the force of the comparison. "At the ideational level," he says, "where coming events seem to cast shadows before them because past events have left traces behind, a new environment—a pictorial world of things past and things possible—allures the self to withdraw into it from the actual and there to ruminate, day-dream, and desire" (*Psychological Principles*, p. 376). But what I wish to draw special attention to is the emphasis upon the continuity of the various levels, which is mediated throughout by some sort of reference to bodily connections. We wonder if it is fanciful to see a rough parallel to the Vedantic conceptions of the *Manas* in conjunction with the *Indriyas*, the *Mukhya Prāṇa*, and the *Sūkshma Śarīra*. The similarity in the first case is fairly obvious—the self of the perceptual level is easily identified with the activity of the sense organs as these are centralised in a unity of external experience, *i.e.* through the *Manas*. But is it also possible to regard the Vedantic term *Mukhya Prāṇa* as an attempt to indicate the vaguer bodily resonance which Dr. Ward associates with the ideational activity of the self? The *Mukhya Prāṇa* has been described as "the hypostasis of empirical life." May it not indicate the bodily envelope of our thought-life in its activity and its receptivity, its "exhalation" and its "inhalation," its persistent somatic dependence, its indebtedness

to physical processes, and its biological teleology? Indications of all these aspects would seem to be yielded by an analysis of the Vedantic phrase, and they are not without deep psychological significance. They afford at least that concreteness which enables us to regard the self on the ideational level as still an object amongst objects. Finally, may not the conception of the "subtle body" of the Vedantists represent an effort to supply a refined form of concreteness, which stiffens for us, as it were, our conception of ourselves as persons, and enables us, even on the intellectual level, to stand outside ourselves and regard our personalities as objects, we ourselves looking on as passive spectators, and pure Egos, upon this highest presentation of the empirical "Me"? These comparisons may appear fanciful, but they are at least worthy of investigation.

We have been tracing the development of the empirical self upon the various levels, but throughout we have been eluded by the pure Ego. The *I* that thinks these various conceptions, that develops its knowledge of the empirical self, has never itself been an object of knowledge. The process has exemplified the truth of Śaṅkara's dictum that we cannot apply objective qualities to the subject. As soon as it acquired content the *I* has been transferred to the *Me*. We have attempted to increase our knowledge of the self, but as soon as we formulate our knowledge another self appears which alone can carry through that formulation. And as we turn our psychological inquiry upon it, it again eludes us. The eternal distinction between subject and object has not been transcended and never can be transcended. The question remains—and it is the crux of the whole inquiry—whether this Ego can ever be known. Dr. Ward gives the answer that it cannot be known, but can be experienced. Śaṅkara would agree with him to a certain extent, but would take a different view of the particular character of the experience.

Dr. Ward is aware of the danger that this pure Ego which he has found at the centre of the different zones of experience—sensory, ideational, and personal—may turn out to be, in the phrase of Kant, a mere *focus imaginarius*, but he would rather run this risk than adopt false methods of investigation. He would rather have no knowledge at all than a knowledge which is not based on experience. He would rather be a sceptic with Hume than a dogmatist with more cheerful philosophers. But he thinks that scepticism is unnecessary, if certain cautions are observed. In the first place we must, from the point of view of knowledge, regard the conception of the pure Ego as a “limiting conception.” When we attempt to fix it, it eludes us—and points the way to further knowledge, while itself remaining unknown. The meaning of this will become clearer if we consider Dr. Ward’s symbolism. The fundamental formula for him is the Subject perceiving the Object, or, $S\ p\ O$. The development of our knowledge of the empirical self yields a fairly complete idea of the relation of the empirical self, which may be symbolised as M , to its objects. The formula for the *psychologist* will then be $S\ p\ (M\ p\ O)$; S typifying the pure Ego, which as soon as and as often as it becomes known, passes over into M , i.e. becomes part of the Object. When, in other words, we have the most comprehensive knowledge of S , it ceases to be anything at all, it becomes a pure abstraction. It acquires content, only to surrender it again. It enters into knowledge only as it ceases to be what we want to know. It can never be known, if by knowledge we indicate an object of knowledge. Are we, then, entirely ignorant of it? Is it a ‘will o’ the wisp’ of whose reality we can never be sure?

Dr. Ward would answer this question in the negative, and here he brings in a second caution. Experience is not co-extensive with knowledge. We *experience* far more than we *know*. Our

experience is based upon the fundamental relationship of Subject and Object. Both of these enter into our experience, but only one of them can be known, because knowledge applies only to objects, and that which is eternally a subject can never become an Object. It may seem as if this would land us in the impossible position of knowing one term of a relationship without knowing the other, but to an objection of this kind Dr. Ward would reply that we are not dealing with two terms in a proposition both of which are objective to us, but with an entirely unique case of relationship—with the subject of all our experience in relation to its object or objects. The subject is that through or by means of which we know everything, and cannot be its own object, any more than the eye by which we see physical objects can itself be an object at the time we are visually perceiving anything.

Nevertheless, we are sure of this pure Ego, just because of its persistent activity. It enters into all our constructions as their fundamental condition. It is reflected in them—in our sensitive, our ideational, our personal self—as well as in all the other objects of our experience. If we are sure of any thing, we are sure of this Ego, not as a sense datum, not as a substance, not as an object of any sort, not as a concept, but as a *subject*, persistently active so long as we have experience. The self cannot be known, but can be experienced directly, and as the basis of all other experience. We cannot ascribe objective qualities to the subject, and make it an object of knowledge, but nevertheless it is the basis of all our experience, knowledge included.

Our contention then is that Dr. Ward has paid most rigorous attention to the warning against ascribing objective qualities to the subject, which Śaṅkara has placed at the beginning of his Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. We venture to suggest, in

conclusion, that he has paid more careful heed to this warning than Śaṅkara himself has done, and that it is because of the latter's insufficient attention to his own principles that the Self in his system loses unnecessarily its reality, and fades away into the paleness of pantheistic absorption. The essential point of difference between the two philosophers is that Dr. Ward emphasises the activity of the Self, whereas Śaṅkara refuses to allow that the Self is an agent. In his Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras II. 3. 40 he says, "The Self's being an agent cannot be founded on its real nature, because (if it were so) the impossibility of final release would follow. For if being an agent belongs to the soul's nature, it can never free itself from it—no more than fire can divest itself of heat—and, as long as man has not freed himself from activity, he cannot obtain his highest end, since activity is essentially painful." And again, "The result of all this is that the agentship of the Self is due to its limiting adjuncts only." The activity of the Self does not really belong to it, and, if we could only realise this, we should at once gain a true conception of the individual Self and of its essential identity with the Divine or universal Self.

Now our suggestion is that Śaṅkara has reached this position, not so much because he is carried away by his main purpose of establishing the central Vedāntic metaphysical position regarding the identity between the human soul and the divine soul, as because he is still attempting, in contravention of his own rule, to treat the self as an object. He sees as clearly as does Dr. Ward, that no content can be ascribed to the Self, as we can ascribe content to the other objects of our knowledge, and he is fully aware of the futility of the philosophy which analyses the Self as if it were given to us through the senses of our body or the concepts of our mind, but he draws illegitimate conclusions from these thoroughly satisfactory premises. He

admits that the Self cannot be known, but because it cannot be known he treats it as an altogether abstract conception. He regards the Self still as knowledge, as pure intelligence. But the idea of intelligence dissociated from the idea of activity, is an idea which passes from the subjective order to the objective order, and in the objective sphere it becomes a concept without character or content, pure because it is an abstraction. It is without form or definiteness, and therefore the Self so conceived merges necessarily in the universal. The identification aimed at by the Vedānta is complete, because it has ceased to treat the Self as Subject and has again treated it as Object—unknowable and indefinable. The Self which is really transcendental, is regarded as transcendent, and so it disappears into the pantheistic void. It becomes a negative rather than a positive reality, because Śaṅkara has applied his own rule rigorously, but not rigorously enough. He has applied it so as to deprive himself of all popular and anthropomorphic aids to the conceiving of the Self and of God, but not so rigorously as to save himself from passing again from the subjective to the objective. Had he observed throughout the rule that God and the Self are to be conceived as subjects and never as objects, he would have preserved the reality of both the Divine and the human activity and would have laid the basis of a religion of communion and of service rather than of identity and acquiescence. Accordingly his own teaching, "the object and the subject cannot be identified," and yet we feel that to deny activity to God is to treat him as an object and *not* as a subject. Dr. Ward has laid a more secure foundation, even if he has not raised upon it any very lofty religious superstructure.

CALCUTTA SPECIAL CONVOCATION

The 18th August, 1928

GENTLEMEN,

This is not the Annual Convocation of the University and it is therefore neither the time nor the place to pass in review the chief events of the academic year, to place on record our sense of the losses occasioned by departure or by death, to welcome accessions to our strength, or to note expansion in organisation, output in authorship or successes in research. Neither is it the time to throw out any suggestion as to what ought to be the future policy of the University in relation to the clamant needs which have arisen through natural processes of growth, through particular difficulties in the present or adaptation to the changing conditions of the near future. These topics must be reserved for our Annual Convocation when we hope that the general situation will have become clearer than it is to-day.

But I do not think that this Convocation, in spite of its special character, should be allowed to pass without a tribute to the Vice-Chancellor who has so recently laid down his office. We recognise with appreciation the zeal and earnestness with which he strove to realise his ideals for the University and the sacrifices which he so readily made both of his strength and of his time—that time which I have no doubt he would in other circumstances have delighted to devote to the historical researches which have won him renown.

As the beginning of my occupation of this office in the University is of such recent date, perhaps I may be allowed to express my gratitude to the many friends who have welcomed me both by speech and by letter, and to assure them that any delay in acknowledging their kindness is due to the

surprisingly larger number of congratulations rather than to any lack of appreciation of good wishes and promises of co-operation.

But although this is not the chief Convocation of the year, though the ceremonial is somewhat truncated, and our gathering is not graced by the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor, it is for you, the latest graduates of the University, a day of days; and it would ill become us to minimise the importance of the occasion for you and indeed for all who are associated with you. You have brought to a successful conclusion one period of your lives. You are setting out upon a great new enterprise, and the light-heartedness which is born of the sense of adventure is no doubt chastened by the thought of separation, and by a not unnatural apprehensiveness regarding the experiences of a more than usually unpredictable future. But I venture to think that there is also an awakening within you of a sense of responsibility as you realise that there never was a time in the history of your country and of the British Commonwealth of Nations when intercourse between East and West was fraught with greater possibilities either for good or evil. There is still much misunderstanding—quite unnecessary misunderstanding—even between people of the utmost good-will. It will be for you to lessen this misunderstanding amongst the people of the countries to which you go. You will have greater opportunities than the travellers from the West to East. For while they in their exceedingly rapid journeyings have very limited facilities for observation, and, notwithstanding all good intentions, are constantly liable to grievous and disastrous mistakes, you are going from the East to the West for longer periods of time and will be brought much more intimately into contact with the peoples amongst whom you are to work. You are also at the stage of life when your mind ought to be free from prejudices and preconceived opinions, and I ask you to remember that if there

is anything worse than a dogmatic *old* man it is a dogmatic *young* man, for the simple reason that the power of the latter to harm will be so much longer continued. You will undoubtedly meet difficulties, but do not create difficulties by hyper-sensitiveness. Do not carry clannishness to greater length than is warranted by the natural gregariousness of those who inherit a common tradition and belong to the same country. Remember that there are many people ready to welcome you, many of whom are just as shy as some of you may be and often cover over that shyness by a stiffness of manner which, though deplorable, is almost wholly unconscious.

You will be regarded as representatives and the future leaders of a country in which the interest of the western world is rapidly becoming both stronger and more intelligent. I can assure you of a welcome from all well-intentioned people in these western communities as you go to them strong in your resolution to uphold the dignity and honour of your race and to show what the best type of Indian students stand for. Remember that you may give as well as receive. War-weariness has left its mark upon many of the western youth. They look rather longingly for fresh idealism, and you may have it in your power to contribute a new spirit of faith in life.

But also be ready to learn all that you may from the experiences of others. See every possible variety of life, provided that the variety is not in itself harmful. I think you will find that those,—if there be any—who do not welcome you, are of diminishing importance in their community, and that the more enlightened is the circle of friends you enter the warmer will be your welcome.

Do not be so impressed by differences of manner and custom as to be repelled by these differences. Deeper than the differences lies a similarity of aim in all right-thinking men and women,

whether Eastern or Western. By the disturbance of your own customs and contact with the customs of others you have the opportunity—denied to the untravelled—of discovering fundamentals of character. And having discovered them your widening experience will enable you to build upon them an edifice of beauty and of usefulness.

Do not allow yourself, as some have done, to look for the worst in other societies and cast a high light upon it. The purpose of intercourse among the nations surely ought to be, in the words of Matthew Arnold, "Disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world," and this also should be your aim as travelling scholars from India.

You are seeking to continue your education in many different directions, in law, in economics, in finance, in industry, in art. You are set free from the immediate necessity of earning your living, but you are not set free from the necessity of applying to practical life the ideas with which your education has furnished or will furnish you. I have little patience with the comparison so frequently made between education in India and in the West, or with the suggestion that to a greater extent than elsewhere a degree is coveted in this country because of its market value. After a fairly long experience of India I remain quite unconvinced that the connection between education and livelihood is in the long run closer in India than in Britain. Except in a few favoured circles, it is not possible to detach the idea of education from the idea of preparation for gaining an honourable living, and it is a mere affectation to pretend anything else. Indeed, I am inclined to go further and question whether the idea of learning for learning's sake is not rather an empty idea. I am doubtful whether even the purest scholar, unless he is either spiritually or socially selfish, ever loses the longing to apply his learning. To desire truth means to desire to adapt oneself to

reality, to prepare oneself for life. It seems to me therefore that it would be possible to regard *all* education as a preparation for life, and conceive of an ideal education which will get rid of this old rivalry between the so-called higher and lower aims.

To you will be given unique opportunities of carrying forward this preparation for life. And in the midst of this preparation I would suggest that it is necessary to *live*. Do not be mere receptacles of the accumulated experiences of others. Live over again these experiences. Try to assimilate them with your soul, so that you come back not, metaphorically speaking, wearing borrowed clothes which will mark you out from your countrymen, which you will either quickly discard or continue to wear with a sense of increasing isolation, but rich in experiences which have become your own, which have become part of your life, and which, because of the elasticity of life, you can adapt on your return to the changing conditions of your society. Thus only can you become the leaders and the pioneers you are expected to be. Thus only can you fulfil the hopes which are centred upon you.

In your years abroad be worthy of the homes which have sent you forth. You may come from comfortable homes or from homes where means are scanty, but in either case you are going forth at the cost of sacrifice on the part of those whom you leave behind—whether it be the sacrifice of the comforts of life or the sacrifice which is born of the pain of separation. Be worthy of it all, be worthy of your University which has conferred upon you to-day this degree and “charges you in your life and conversation to show yourself worthy of the same.” Be worthy of your Motherland both as she has been and as she hopes to be. Be worthy also of the traditions of the countries which for the next few years are to give you hospitality. I hope ungrudging hospitality, and be worthy of the Universities

who are to give you the rich and varied training to which you are looking forward. If you are thus worthy you will return to your own land, uniting in yourself elements of universal culture to hasten time when the barriers of the nations shall be broken down in the federation of mankind.

CALCUTTA ANNUAL CONVOCATION

The 16th February, 1929

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADY JACKSON, FELLOWS OF THE UNIVERSITY,
GRADUATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Once more we have the opportunity of welcoming you, sir, as our Chancellor, and we thank you for the interest you continue to take in the University and its students, an interest shown in many and varied directions.

During the past few weeks we have shared in the anxiety of the whole Empire, and it is but fitting that at this Convocation we should request you to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor the sense of gratitude for his recovery which is felt by the largest single body of students within his Empire. We may disagree in many things, but in one thing, I think, we are all agreed, and that is in loyalty to the person of our Emperor and in thankfulness for his delivery from danger.

It is only six months since you did me the honour of appointing me to the position of Vice-Chancellor of this University, and I can speak from personal knowledge of only a part of the year under review. My predecessor in office could have furnished a more intimate account of the earlier period, had he been called upon to do so, but he must at least have that share in our proceedings of to-day which is constituted by a recognition on our part and on the part of the whole University of the great zeal and devotion with which he discharged the duties of his office, and the energy which he expended upon his many tasks. He did not spare himself, and to-day, in convocation assembled, we offer him our thanks for his sacrifice of time and strength in the service of the University.

In this rapidly changing life of ours, it is not possible that a year should go by without our being called upon to suffer great losses as a University. One of our senior Honorary Fellows, Mr. Syamacharan Ganguli, an educationist of standing and a benefactor of the University, died nearly twelve months ago, and about the same time we had to mourn the loss of one of the most distinguished sons of modern India, the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Sinha of Raipur, a pioneer in many new ways. Amidst his varied activities, he found time to interest himself in the affairs of the University, and amongst other offices he was Dean of the Faculty of Law from 1906 to 1908. A similar position was occupied at a somewhat earlier date by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Syed Ameer Ali, who died in August last. He served the University as a member of the Syndicate and as Tagore Professor of Law, and, although he had been separated from us by distance for many years, he was still closely connected with educational advance in this country, both through his influence upon his own community and his reputation in the world of letters. The tragic death of Dr. George Ewan in July last removed, at the height of his powers and in the prime of life, one of our most able and vigorous Senators. He was an influence for good in many directions, and in a comparatively short time had come to be recognised as a trusted promoter of University progress. Lastly, we unite our sorrow with that of many leading families in this city in deploring the loss of Mr. S. R. Das, a Fellow of the University from 1923 to 1926, whose brilliant intellectual gifts and legal pre-eminence were a source of pride both to the University and the country. From reverent commemoration of the dead, we may turn to the achievements of the living, and it is possible to record a period of steady successful work in the departments of academic activity most closely connected with the University. It will not imply any depreciation of the labours

and energy of others of our University staff, *e.g.*, of such eminent philosophers and industrious authors as Professor Radhakrishnan and Professor Dasgupta, if I draw special attention to the wonderful discovery which stands to the credit of Professor C. V. Raman, and which has been received with enthusiasm by the whole scientific world. I do not presume to describe this achievement, but the President of the French Academy of Sciences has referred to it as a notable discovery which opens new and fruitful avenues of research. Some seventy papers consequent upon the discovery have been published during the last few months, and the frequency with which scientific journals speak of the *Raman* effect, the *Raman* spectra, the *Raman* lines, etc., proves that Calcutta University has had the honour, as a result of the labours of its distinguished professor, of supplying a new adjective to the vocabulary of science. The Faraday Society is organising a special meeting to discuss the new phenomenon and its relation to molecular spectra, and Professor Raman has been invited to lecture before the Royal Institution. This latter honour, I believe, he shares with the veteran scientist, Sir Jagadish Bose, to whom the University had recently the privilege of offering felicitations on the attainment of his seventieth birthday and congratulations on a lengthy record of scientific achievement.

Before I go on to speak of the problems which will be occupying our attention in the immediate future may I express my gratitude to my colleagues in the University for their generous co-operation during the past few months? Thanks to their active good-will and their passive forbearance, there has been no interruption during this period of the placidity of our existence. With so many clouds of controversy looming darkly upon the horizon, this may be the calm before the storm, but I am hopeful that during our period of by no means somnolent quiescence—which is to be carefully distinguished from acquiescence—there may have

been an increasing disposition to consider academic matters in respect of their merits and not merely of their origin. Just as acceptance of the evolutionary principles does not compel us to be always thinking of our ancestry, probably arboreal, so there is no reason why questions of the origin of problems or proposals should always be in the forefront in discussion of University topics.

Our educational situation presents so many varied perplexities at this juncture that I may be accused of contempt of court if, before judgment is delivered, I allude to any one of them. But I venture to take the risk. We have discussions going on round about us and amongst us upon Primary Education, Secondary Education and Under-graduate and Post-graduate University Education; and the Syndicate, weary but watchful Post-graduate Committees, slightly apprehensive, Trust Boards of Management not uninfluenced by the Raman effect, to say nothing of *ad hoc* committees, are engaged in the good work of discussion, guided and encouraged, aided, abetted or otherwise by Dr. Banerjea in the Legislative Council, and by Dr. Jenkins—that “universal provider” of educational contrivances—in the depths of the Secretariat. It is said that in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, and having got the multitude, we hope for the wisdom. We hope that a satisfactory solution may soon be reached of the problem of the Secondary Board, and that the difficulties of dualism as between the University and the Education Department may be overcome by an arrangement which will relieve the already overweighted shoulders of the University of some of the burden of the schools while still keeping in mind our traditional responsibility for them.

The mention of both Primary and University education in the same sentence brings us abruptly up against the problem of finance. However wise we may be both within the University and without it (without being used in a double sense, so as to

include people who think that a University education is *worse* than useless) we cannot afford to do without money, and must join in what was the other day described as the "shrill cry" for it. We wish to learn, and to learn to think, but in order to think we must live.

In respect of finance, may I urge the necessity in any country of *both* University and Primary education? If inadequate provision is made for the continuance of a body of public-spirited men with a University tradition and up-bringing, the desire for primary education will soon fade away. Perhaps it is more true of this country than of some others that the desire for education filters downwards, and that unless you have a considerable number of men who have experienced the benefits of education for its own sake, you will not have sufficient stimulation of those who are not so conscious of these benefits. Negatively, also, the same is true. Restriction of the University education would mean the increase of illiteracy, for in such a case efforts to establish or develop primary education would meet with little encouragement. To the promotion of University education, we may surely apply the words: This ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone. Further, it is surely true that in any state it is always possible to make fuller compulsory provision for primary education than for advanced education.

Then in respect of our own more immediate financial problems—it has been pointed out on the one hand that the Government of Bengal has no money, and that on the other hand the University of Calcutta is very extravagant. Settlements, both Meston and Permanent, are given as reasons why there should be no additional support of the University. But why—it may be suggested—should the Government of India altogether disown its oldest University child? It has had a certain amount of responsibility for the origination of the present clamant and

unsatisfied needs, and there seems no apparent reason why it should confine its present generosity merely to the little ones in the nursery—why, in other words, it should not anticipate Meston unsettlements—I do not venture to breathe a whisper of any other unsettlements.

In respect of our deserts, again—or want of deserts—it is alleged that we are extravagant. We may be so in some directions, and there is certainly a possibility of some internal redistributions, but in regard to the total sum necessary for maintenance, to say nothing of wholly legitimate expansion, I am afraid there is no possibility whatsoever of diminution without very serious detriment.

But what I wish to plead for above all things is that in all our negotiations we should get rid of the spirit of bargaining. that we should avoid the suggestion that we are out to get all that we can from Government, with the corresponding implication that it is the intention of Government to give us the bare minimum necessary to silence our clamours. We hold strongly to the idea that we are partners in the consideration of the common good and not bargainers the one over against the other. We hold that it is the duty of the University to give boldly and honestly the advice which is asked as to the proper distribution of educational public money, and not to ask a pice more than is necessary in view of other requirements of the community. And at the same time we ask that, after an equitable distribution of the public funds has been made, confidence will be placed in us that the resources entrusted to us will be carefully administered for the greatest good of the community of which both Government and University form a part.

But it should be always remembered that there are other than Government resources in the country, and that the University has a right to appeal to private benefactors. Is it

too much to hope that there may be a recurrence of some of those princely benefactions of a dozen years ago,—unless Dr. Brahamachari by his recent appeal has succeeded in diverting all the generosity of the “rich aristocracy” of Bengal into the coffers of the Asiatic Society ?

We have spoken of the close connection between the University and interests of the community as a whole, and this leads to speculation as to whether the University is properly preparing the students for the duties of citizenship. There are on the one hand those who acclaim the students as presently active and efficient leaders in all public movements, and, on the other hand, those who hold that it must not even be whispered in their ears that there is such a thing as politics. Both extremes seem to me frankly impossible. But I am not going to traverse a well-worn theme, save to say that preparation for life includes consideration of political problems, and that such consideration has to be permitted unless we are to force the students into one or other of the dogmatisms which produce either conservatism or anarchy. Such preparation, however, does not mean participation in the sense of a premature assumption of the responsibilities of the post-preparatory period. Difficulties in regard to this particular problem would not arise if there were more sympathy and co-operation between the University authorities and the general community. But if the University is divided within itself, or if there is a cleavage of opinion between it and the general public, such difficulties are inevitable.

The same consideration also applies to the wider question of discipline, which is of paramount importance at the present time when people who are elderly in mind, if not also in body, are shaking their heads over the restlessness of the student community, and declaring that its members have altogether got out of hand, and that discipline must be restored at all costs.

It always seems to me that comparisons between one generation and another are as odious as other comparisons are. But, again it does not meet the case simply to say that the students of to-day are no worse than their predecessors, or—more lightly—to quote the familiar saying that “boys will be boys.” We must go deeper. We are dealing at least with boys who want to be men, who are on the threshold of manhood, and who cannot therefore be subjected to the same kind of discipline as is suitable for school boys. Analogies in this respect between one country and another are unsafe. In England, at least in the older Public Schools and Universities, for example, boys are kept in scholastic and academic leading strings to a later age than in India or in Scotland, and whatever our opinion on the relative merits of the educational systems may be, the fact remains that we cannot in India, or even in the barbarous country of Scotland, count upon the same degree of traditional pressure in the direction of conformity to rule and custom. The problem of discipline has to be dealt with in a subtler way, and therefore becomes more intimately connected with the general rapport between the Colleges and the community of which I have already spoken. Discipline can be maintained only if the academic authorities feel that they have parents and guardians on their side. To my mind, the relation between the authority and the student is of the nature of a solemn contract in which the teacher promises to respect the rights and privileges and personality of the student, and on the other hand the guardian promises to support the authority of the teacher. The teacher must stand in some sense in *loco parentis*, otherwise he has no continuing security ; he cannot for any length of time stand in opposition to the parent or to the collective enlightened community. If the contract of which I have spoken be broken and if it be broken, as may occasionally happen, by the academic

authority, then the adage that discipline must be maintained at all costs proves to be mechanical, archaic and peculiarly futile. If we can maintain our discipline only by the persistent refusal to admit that there may have been a mistake, such discipline is not worth maintaining. Guardians may in that case quite conceivably exercise their right of withdrawal from the contract. But what I do urge is that the guardians should play the game: that they should either withdraw their students from the colleges, or, if they keep them there, should resolutely uphold the authority of the College. They should not allow them to remain in College, and at the same time actively or passively encourage them either individually or collectively to defy the academic authority. Otherwise the authority of the teacher, an authority which has a greater traditional strength in this land than perhaps in any other, is irretrievably ruined. No satisfactory solution of the acute problem of discipline is possible so long as the relationship between the teacher and the community is one of antagonism or persistent misunderstanding. Discipline depends on the satisfactoriness of the general situation and cannot be considered apart from that situation. Thus the duty of the University and of all educated men is so to serve the community that the diffusion of culture may come to mean the establishment of peace and goodwill. Only then will the difficulties of the present situation disappear.

In conclusion, may I offer the congratulations of the University to those who have this day received their degree? It is one of the greatest days in your life, a day of new resolutions and new departures. You have received many benefits from the University, and yours is now the responsibility of remaining true to the ideals which you have been led to cherish. Your scientific and philosophical training ought to have created within you a desire for broadmindedness and catholicity of judgment. You will

not conceive of yourselves as having duties only to your own class, neither will you remain unimpressed by sufferings which do not concern yourselves. You will have a sense of the universal.

You will have many difficult problems to face. The problem of unemployment immediately affects some of you, as in many other countries at the present day, and you may be inclined to say that your education has been a mistake and altogether wasted. Do not rush too hastily to this conclusion. Vocational training, however desirable it may be, will not of itself solve economic problems. And the more general form of education which is given in a University can never be wasted. As was said recently, University education often helps you to do that which you can't do, or, in other words, prepares you for the emergencies of life and enables you to make opportunities for yourselves even when they do not lie ready to your hand. In looking forward to the future, do not think so much of the provision of posts for you as of the preparation of yourselves for the post. Do not rely on external influence, but make yourselves fit to avail yourselves of opportunities, taking as the ideal of the health of a society the principle that no one should press forward to a position for which he is not fit. The protection given by an influential family is a very doubtful benefit, and should not be overmuch regretted by those who do not enjoy it. In any case, there are not enough influential families to provide for the needs of those who are clamouring for employment. Stand upon your own feet and make yourselves worthy of employment, and you will not fail. In virtue of your firm resolution and your high ideals, you may be agencies, not in the disturbance of society, but in its reconstruction, and you will succeed in your vocation just in so far as you determine yourselves to fair-mindedness, seeking to contribute to the common good rather than merely to claim your own share of it. Rights

and duties belong to all of you, but you can secure your rights if you think first of your duties, not merely to your own class but to your country and to humanity as a whole.

CALCUTTA SPECIAL CONVOCATION

The 24th August, 1929

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

In one way I regret, on your behalf, that this is not the Annual Convocation of the University. You may miss the inspiration of the larger gathering and the fuller ceremonial and the presence of certain distinguished individuals who to-day are absent. But none the less this is a great day in your lives and, just because you are so small a group, you have the attention of the University so concentrated upon you that you cannot fail to become more fully conscious of your importance as individuals. It is thus more than usually possible for you to feel to-day what every graduate of the University ought to feel on such an occasion, that he has reached a point when he can no longer be regarded as merely one of a class, but has to begin to make his own career after a manner which differentiates him from all his fellows. His University studies have been a failure unless he is to some extent prepared for this career in which no one else can be his substitute.

You have reached the end of your University life, as far as that is to be spent in India; and in the name of the University I congratulate you on your success and offer you every good wish for the enterprise upon which you are so soon to launch yourselves. Your educational environment is now to be widened so as to include new and varied experiences of foreign lands. Opportunities are opening before you such as are given to few. It is indeed true that travel between the different countries has been much more frequent of recent years. For educational and cultural purposes the whole world has been

becoming linked up, much as Europe was in mediaeval times, and India and Greater India in still more distant ages. The World Jamboree of the Boy Scouts—of which we have been hearing so much in the last few weeks, may be taken as a symbol of what this intercourse is in the future expected to be, when these energetic young people have grown to manhood. But will not the influences which are playing upon you in these western countries be much more determinative, as you remain there, not for weeks, but for years, and at a period when the plastic material of your nature is stiffening towards a permanency of quality and character? And on your return you will exercise even greater influence.

During the terms of your study in Calcutta University you have been getting ready for your future, and your years of study abroad are to give you still further opportunities of preparation through your receptivity of the influences which will play upon you, and your reaction to these influences. There is not time to attempt to describe these influences in any detail, even if it were desirable to do so. One thing I should like to ask you is that you should not exaggerate minor difficulties in the way of receiving full benefit from your residence abroad. To my mind, it is exceedingly sad that Indian youths should frequently, keeping themselves to themselves, refuse to mix with the people with whom they are thrown most directly in contact. Some will allege that there is good reason for this, that they cannot forget estranging controversial matters, and that the reception they get is sometimes cold and restricted. Be the degree of truth in this what it may, I yet venture to suggest that in many cases—perhaps in the majority of cases—the welcome which is intended but not fully expressed, does not have its full effect because of an intelligible but nevertheless excessive sensitiveness on the part of the stranger. The normal man does

not like to be conspicuous, and the newcomer is apt to conclude prematurely that the company in which he finds himself disapproves of him because he is conspicuous. It must be remembered that many of the students at an English University are the products of the English Public School system of education and the effects of this are not easily thrown off. To many of us who belong to countries where a more democratic system prevails, this peculiarly English system seems sometimes to have the defects of its qualities. It makes a young man into a most attractive member of his own group, teaches him how to "play the game" and to care for the interests of the group rather than the individual. But it also seems sometimes to develop within him a perverse shyness and a curious incapacity for understanding the point of view of those who do not initially belong to his own group or set; and the ex-Public School boy occasionally seems to be a master in the art, unconscious perhaps, of making outsiders feel that they *are* outsiders. But I ask you to remember that very frequently it is *only* seeming, that he is blissfully unconscious of this particular effect of his upbringing, that his welcome is at heart much more cordial than it is in outward expression. Catchwords glibly uttered within a certain set do not mean half what they appear to mean to those who coming from outside are often hurt by them, and I would ask you to remember that students all over the world are proverbially critical, and that often they do not mean the half of what they say in obedience to the current jargon of the group. Still less do they mean the half of what they do *not* say when they offend the stranger by a devastating silence.

Of course I do not say that all the difficulties in the way of freedom of intercourse between people of different countries are of this superficial character and merely matters of manner, but

many of them are, and it is a pity that the door opening towards friendship should be shut at the outset by a fancied rebuff, of which a little humour at the outset and a refusal to take either oneself or other people too seriously, would show the insignificance. Bitterness of spirit is often the outcome of unnecessarily wounded feelings, and many tragedies of alienation have been due to excessive sensitiveness to a slight which a little calm analysis of the situation would have shown to be entirely imaginary.

To meet more serious difficulties I would appeal to you to carry with you the spirit of courage, and to bank on friendliness amongst those you meet rather than upon unfriendliness. Thus you will find the doors opening to a mutual intercourse which will be of the greatest possible mutual benefit. Remember constantly that you are ambassadors on behalf of India, going forth to remove misconceptions and to win honour for your country. The impression you make upon those with whom you come into direct personal contact will be worth more than reams of book or paper controversy. Ignorance of the true significance of Indian culture you will frequently find to be distressing, and you can do much to remove that ignorance as in your varied occupations you come into contact with the leaders in the different spheres of academic and public life. You are looking forward to many kinds of work,—to preparation in literature, in law, in science and medicine. One of you at least has the ambition of becoming a modern Portia, and to her and her companion I would venture to say that they have at this present time a special task in removing misconceptions about the womanhood of this land, their aims and aspirations.

All of you will be preparing for your return. You can do this best by trying to study all sides of the many problems you will have to face in the future. You will come in contact

with many different forms of opinion, conservative and progressive, insular and cosmopolitan,—and in general with an attitude which is growingly favourable to Indian aspirations. Take, as an example of a point on which many different views are possible, the opinions held upon the question of compulsory military service. You will find that many are cordially approving of the idea of officers training corps (often virtually compulsory in the schools at least) in the schools and colleges of Britain. But on the other hand you will find a growing numerous body of people who look upon any compulsory encouragement of militarism in Britain and elsewhere as an encroachment upon the liberty of the individual and as a mortgaging of the future of the world in favour of obsolescent ideas, *not* unmindful all the while of the necessity of showing their sincerity by advocating the diminution of military expenditure all over the world. So by synthesising your experiences you will be able to look at this and many other questions from the point of view not of India alone but from that of universal opinion as well. Another question which you will find frequently discussed is that of the League of Nations, and you will find that whatever may be the defects of present organisation, it is in the ideas behind this League that for the more progressive minds the hope of the world seems to lie.

You will come back to be men and women of great influence in your own country. You can best of all prepare yourselves for this return by remembering, in the words of F. H. Bradley, that “the best communities are those which have the best men for their members, and the best men are the members of the best communities. The two problems of the best men and the best state are two sides, two distinguishable aspects of the one problem.” To the solution of this problem you can contribute, as you gather your experience wisely and well, and return ready

to apply that experience to the needs and aspirations of your own land. The good wishes of your University go with you, both for the time of your remaining abroad and for the time of your returning.

CALCUTTA ANNUAL CONVOCATION

The 8th February, 1930

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADY JACKSON, MEMBERS OF
THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On this the third occasion on which you have visited the University as our Chancellor, we offer you our cordial welcome and express our gratitude to you for the interest you continue to take in the University, in its present doings and its immediate future. In the problems which will confront us in that immediate future and of which more will be said in the course of this address, we are confident that we can count upon Your Excellency's generous co-operation.

Another year of academic life has come to a close, and we hope that the strenuous work in which many of the members of the University have been engaged, has meant progress in certain directions. It has been a year of comparative peace within the central portion of the University, and the interruptions of regular work which occurred in one or two of the Colleges, were not of long duration and are now happily things of the past.

As a University, we have suffered some serious losses in the course of the year. The late Maharajadhiraj Sir Rameshwar Singh, G. C. I. E., of Durbhanga, was an Honorary Fellow of the University, and it is to his munificence that we owe the Durbhanga Building which has been for many years a useful centre of our work. We offer our sympathy as a University to his family, as also to the family of the late Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nandy, K.C.I.E., of Cossimbazar, who was an exceedingly generous benefactor of the University and of many other educational institutions, and who will long be remembered

as one of the most versatile and earnest promoters of learning, as well as one of the most unselfish of men, whom modern India has known. We also mourn the death of Nawabzada Ashrafuddin Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., who, since 1890, has been a Fellow (or Honorary Fellow) of this University, and, in his earlier days, gave valuable assistance on the Arabic and Persian Boards of Studies.

Through the retirement of Dr. George Howells of Serampore College, the University has lost the services of one who devoted much time and energy to what were, in his view, the best interests of the University. He was a member of innumerable committees, and took an active and useful part in the deliberations of the Senate. He was specially interested in the Post-Graduate Department and contributed greatly to its development and strengthening.

Two of the members of our professorial staff have been absent during the year. Sir C. V. Raman, whom we congratulate upon the honour of Knighthood bestowed upon him since our last Convocation, has just returned from a triumphant scientific progress in the West, where he has been lecturing before the leading Universities and Scientific Societies of Great Britain and the Continent of Europe, and has received, amongst other distinctions, the very rare honour of an honorary degree from the University of Freiburg. Prof. Radhakrishnan has been creating a great impression by his lectures in Oxford, and I have heard that when he goes to London, he, ever loyal to his national garb, is apt to be stopped in Regent Street and thanked by unknown admirers for the inspiration of his addresses. Mr. H. C. Ray has just returned to the department of History with a London Ph. D. to his credit, and a remarkable series of testimonials to the value of his work from the most widely recognised authorities in his subject.

Meantime their colleagues in Calcutta have not been idle. Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has been continuing his work upon *Eastern Bengal Ballads*, having already published six substantial volumes. Dr. Haldar has been increasing his reputation as a writer upon Hegelian philosophy. Dr. Banerjea has been adding to the volume of his work in Economics, and Dr. Stella Kramrisch has written a very considerable portion of an important German Encyclopædia of Asiatic Art. The scientists also have not been without their meed of recognition. *Nature*, one of the best-known scientific journals, speaks of the work of Prof. J. N. Mukherjee in Colloid Chemistry "as having established his reputation throughout the scientific world as an eminent worker in this subject," and describes his recent address before the Science Congress as "an excellent example of the great progress which India has made in science during the last twenty years". Prof. P. N. Ghosh and his immediate associates have been contributing important articles to the same journal as well as to other scientific reviews. In a recent article the leading scientists of Britain described the quality of the Indian research in Pure Physics in terms which Prof. Raman modestly declares to be excessively generous, but in which we suspect there is a very considerable amount of truth. These are simply outstanding examples which go to show that work of a very advanced character is being done in this University, and that many of the members of our staff are acquiring a reputation which has travelled far beyond the bounds of Bengal, and even of India.

One of the most important events in the year has been the setting up, after prolonged negotiation, of an Arbitration Board. This has been welcomed by teachers as giving them an added sense of security, and it is hoped that it will fulfil the expectations which have been formed regarding it.

Committee meetings during the year have been incessant. One of them, to which Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee gave able secretarial assistance, was appointed to formulate the latest views of the University upon the subject of the Secondary Education Bill, and these views were for the most part endorsed by the Senate. They represent an adjustment of the tradition which left secondary education in a position of somewhat uncertain equilibrium between the control of the Education Department and the University, to the newer conception that there should be a special Board entrusted with the management of this particular form of education. The chief difficulty was to state adequately and fairly the relation which the proposed Board should hold to the University on the one hand and the Education Department on the other, and it is hoped that the solution offered by the University, which represents a very considerable compromise between opposing views, will commend itself favourably to the Legislature.

Another important Committee dealt with the situation which has arisen owing to the fact that the existing arrangement with the University in respect of the Post-Graduate Department in particular comes to an end in the course of this year. The Committee was appointed with a view to ascertaining the academic requirements necessary to preserve, consolidate and stimulate the essential features of the present scheme of teaching and research ; and to suggest any changes which might be necessary in the constitution of the different administrative and academic bodies with a view to securing more effective economic co-ordination of resources and activities. It considered, amongst other things, the possibility of a more economical organisation of offices, and attempted, either directly or through sub-committees, to arrive at a correct estimate of the financial situation which would arise if the teaching and research activities of the University were to be placed on a satisfactory basis.

No one will deny the comprehensiveness of this aim or the diligence of the members of the Committee. Their patience was at times almost completely exhausted, but they returned to the task with surprising renewals of vigour, and were able, faint yet pursuing, to hold no fewer than seventy-six meetings, greatly assisted by the indefatigable labours of the two Secretaries, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr. J. N. Mukherjee. I think also the Members of the Committee will unanimously agree that a special debt of gratitude is owed by the University to Dr. W. A. Jenkins for his assiduous toil in connection with this work. The Committee accumulated and attempted to digest—with what success I shall not presume to say—an enormous amount of information. The Report has been placed before the Senate and will be discussed at a meeting a week hence. It is, therefore, not possible to discuss at the present stage the merits of its conclusions. It is enough to say that the Report, contrary to the initial expectation of many, is in form unanimous, although the minutes of dissent on particular points are numerous. It represents an attempt to get rid of certain difficulties which have emerged in course of the years in the present organisation, difficulties which I make bold to say the illustrious founder of the present system, to whom the University will ever be conscious of owing an immeasurable debt, would have been the first to recognise as demanding consideration. Our aim has been to place the teaching and research activities of the University on a more satisfactory basis; and we agreed on one thing, namely, that it was unfair to the teachers of the University that the present uncertainty regarding the tenure of their appointments should continue. We were also unitedly of opinion that the activities of the University, which it was essential to maintain, could not be carried on except through an expenditure which would involve an increase of resources. This may seem to some a startling and

unwelcome conclusion, but I may point out that, in recent years, accounts have been balanced only through considerable trenching upon a temporary University reserve which is now almost completely exhausted, or will be exhausted, at the end of the present financial year. After that the current income of the University will not be able to meet the expenditure.

Is the solution then to be the cutting down of our expenditure? I can only say that this seems to me impossible to any appreciable extent unless the activities of the University are to be very seriously hampered, and I think all the members of the committee would agree with me. The necessity for economy was never far from the mind of any one of us, but we were also of opinion that efficiency is of even greater importance and that, if due regard is to be had to this, involving fairness of treatment to the members of our staff, and if we are to be properly appreciative of the traditions and present opportunities of our University, the total expenditure cannot be diminished and may even have to be slightly increased. I think I am right in saying that this is the main trend of our Report. I am aware that the University is taking a heavy responsibility in suggesting this further inroad upon the resources which are available for the educational needs of the Province, and if I thought that the suggestion arose from a disregard of other educational necessities or was made with a view to perpetuating inefficiency and extravagance or even in order to maintain the *status quo* simply for the sake of maintaining it, I personally would have nothing to do with advocating this generosity. I do not pretend that all is well in every respect with the Post-Graduate Department—it is not in any human institution to claim perfection—neither do I deny that, in many respects and in certain directions, there is room for alteration and improvement and economy. But I think that

taking a view of the whole situation, there is abundant justification even for increased expenditure, should that be found to be necessary, and I appeal to the Local Government for a generous treatment of the needs of the University, should that be found to be possible—and I think it is possible—without undue sacrifice of other educational interests.

In this Province, in the thoughts of the people, the University is regarded as standing at the summit and as forming an integral part of the whole educational system, and its welfare is regarded as affecting the welfare of the whole. In illustration of this, I may mention that, within the last few days, the sum of Rs. 10,000 has been offered *to the University* for the improvement of primary education in the villages of Bengal, the whole sum to be expended within the next two years, and that this gift has been accepted by the Syndicate, with a grateful recognition of the confidence indicated.

We have in this University a heritage which we cannot afford to despise or neglect or even maintain in a state of merely partial efficiency. Especially is it necessary in these critical days that the resources of the country should be liberally devoted to the training of the future leaders of the country, so that they may be sent out properly equipped for the difficult life they will have to live. Would it be considered out of place in this connection to repeat the suggestion made elsewhere, that the Government of India might recognise that some of the achievements of this University are of national and imperial importance and deserve corresponding support and encouragement? Even in these days of the equalising of the rights of all the provinces, there might be still some sentimental as well as practical regard for the first-born amongst the Indian Universities. Is it too much to throw out the hint that more amongst the great merchants both Indian and European, whose firms owe so

very much to the loyal service in their offices of the humbler alumni of our Colleges, might turn from superficial criticism to positive assistance of our education, and make substantial contributions to educational funds which would enable us to elevate the whole standard of that training, about which in their lighter moods they sometimes make merry, but upon which the prosperity of their business so essentially depends? It would indeed be a profitable investment, for it would yield a return of good-will towards those who at present so largely control the industrial development of the country, and would do much to remove the bitter spirit of envy and constant talk of exploitation which are so prevalent in regard to those whose own energy and capacity and perseverance have led in so many cases to such amazingly profitable results.

In respect of finance generally it may be said that this University is, as in so many other countries, on the horns of a dilemma. If it is to depend upon internal resources, *i.e.*, upon fee income, it can do so only by increasing the number of the students, which means lowering its standards and so exposing itself to the criticism of academic worthlessness. If it is to keep its standards high, it must limit the number of its students, diminish its income, and find itself a pauper, unless, as again every other University in the world does, it is to draw more largely upon external assistance, either in the shape of Government grants or private benefactions.

I turn from these mundane but necessary considerations to offer the congratulations of the University to you who, to-day, are receiving your degrees. It is a great event in your lives, and you are now proceeding to higher studies in which you will be still more closely associated with the University, or you are going out into the world to occupy responsible positions and, in many cases, to become leaders amongst your fellow

countrymen. I offer you the sincere good wishes of the University for your success. I trust that you will take with you some clear consciousness of what University training ought to do for you and what, I hope, it has done.

A University-trained man or woman ought to be able to exercise a balanced judgment, to extract the soul of good out of the confusions of controversy, or the truly valuable out of that which seems to be indifferent. You will usually find that beneath the vehemently expressed dogmas of opposing controversialists there are truths upon which both sides can agree. It is for the cultured men of the country to drag these confused and covered truths out into the clear light of day. Men may be divided in opinion as to the particular kind of political status they want, but they are not divided in their belief that India has peculiar traditions and aptitudes of her own. It is for the University teachers and the students guided by them, through patient study of past history and present facts, properly to appreciate that tradition and cultivate those capacities. The spinning wheel may be viewed by different people with varying degrees of practical respect, but there would probably be unanimity in regard to the idea symbolised by it, *viz.*, that, in the inevitable development of industrialism, India should be saved as much as possible from some of the terrible accompaniments of the first beginnings of industrialism in the West, and should discover some method of uniting the expansion of industry with increasing care for the welfare and individuality of the worker. Is it necessary for the prosperity of the people that so frequently as in the West, the fair countryside should be darkened by the smoke of multitudinous factory chimneys, that people should leave the open country for the crowded city streets where they jostle one another for livelihood and have hardly room to breathe? It is for the University-trained men to put positive

meaning into the demands of the people, to see that the national unity, which is so passionately desired, is no empty shell, but an opportunity for faithful service of the commonwealth, leading to a removal of the spirit of indifference which separates class from class and a growing consciousness that the health and economic and spiritual prosperity of the people are the concern first of all of those who have had the special preparation for life which a University can give. The destinies of India can best be accomplished by the increase of her own internal strength. The development of a people comes from within and not from without, and it is for you students and graduates of the University to guide that development in the years that are to come.

Education, by lessening illiteracy and in connection with the present enthusiasm for the education of women, is bringing everywhere new forces into being, and it is for you to guide these forces into the service of a better organised society. The University ought to take the lead in the regrouping of natural and historical groups, so that they may cease to be mutually antagonistic, and may be serviceable to higher ends. It is for you, graduates of the University, to take the lead in this regrouping and reorganisation, and the best wish that we can wish for you is that you may be conscious of your high calling and great opportunities, and zealously endeavour to be faithful to that spirit of enlightenment and sympathy and good-will which your University, by its essential nature, is pledged to cultivate. The late Swami Vivekananda said once : "My whole ambition is to set in motion a machinery which will bring noble ideas to the door of everyone." If the University has brought to you any noble ideas, it will have fulfilled its task, and if you open the doors of your minds to these ideas, communicate them to others and live by them, you will not fail in that future of great promise which lies before you.

PATNA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS
1929

It was with very great pleasure that I received this invitation to address the Convocation of the University of Patna. Amongst the more recently founded Universities of India the practice has grown up of inviting some one from outside the University to give an address at the Annual Convocation, but Vice-Chancellors of neighbouring Universities have been only infrequently included amongst those to whom this privilege is given. And I take it that your invitation to one connected with the University of Calcutta is to some extent reminiscent of the older connection which used to exist between this University and my own University and a recognition of the fact that in its modern form at least Patna University is a daughter of Calcutta; although, if we were to have respect to older history and to the academic glories of the ancient city of Pataliputra, we in Calcutta are but infants as compared with you.

Your friendly welcome to the representative of another University is to me another indication that, however much we may hear of provincial rivalries, and use in common talk such phrases as 'Bengal for the Bengalees' and 'Bihar for the Biharees,' there are in academic matters no such artificial distinctions. Rather are we united throughout India and indeed throughout the world in one common purpose and in one common task. In these Universities of ours we are the custodians of the culture of the country, and not only of the culture, but also of the character of the coming generation. You who to-day have completed your academic courses and taken your degrees, are going forth, with the good wishes and congratulations of your friends, to be amongst the leaders of

your country, and by your attitude and by your actions the value of your University training will be judged. Have you been made fit, or have you made yourselves fit, for the positions you are to occupy?

There has perhaps never been a time in the history of this land when the problem of the equipment of students for life has been of greater importance than it is to-day. On the material level we are faced in a specially acute form with the question of unemployment, although it would be a mistake to think that this is a difficulty which affects India alone and is not shared by other countries in greater or less degree. Even though we urge that it is the duty of society in general and not primarily of the University to find employment for those who are ready to enter upon the ordinary business of life, yet the Universities cannot afford to neglect this problem or to shut their eyes to the insufficiency of the opportunities for honourable occupation which are offered to their graduates. Courses of study must be adapted with a practical reference to the future, and there must be greater co-operation between the Universities and the captains of industry.

Still, when all this had been said, it will be agreed, I think, that at the present time we are faced with even greater difficulties when we rise above the merely material levels. His Excellency the Viceroy at the recent Universities Conference remarked that in India at the present time "new forces are moving, new energies are kindling the imaginations and the hopes of millions of future citizens of India at their most impressionable age"; and he asks the question, "Can this ardour of youth, this coursing of blood through the young veins of India, be utilised and directed to constructive ends, or will it become an explosive force charged with incalculable danger to the future of the land?"

Of course there is a perennial conflict between the old and the new, between age and youth, and one must be on guard lest the difficulties of the present time should be exaggerated through the natural tendency of every generation to think that it is living through specially critical times, and through forgetfulness of the truth that it is better

“Youth should strive through acts uncouth,

“Towards making, than repose on ought found made”.

There is always the danger of impatient revolt against the “wise restraint of rules by centuries old endorsed”, and there is always the need of mutual understanding and accommodation between the generations, so that the old may recognise that, as the world has after all to be carried on by the young people it would on the whole be better to try to see their point of view, even though they be impetuous and theirs may sometimes seem to be “too hasty heads for ordering worlds”. Over against the younger generation the older generation has grown humbler than it used to be, and in the educational sphere this idea of youth's inherent right to self-determination explains the popularity of the Dalton method and of such institutions as Bedales in England and those managed by Lietz in Germany. Undoubtedly this new idea involves risk, a danger that the old world may be laid low to clear the new world's way, and the situation is often not very comfortable for the older people or for those who are clingingly devoted to old institutions and old customs.

Now the question I want to ask is this—whether, if times are specially difficult in educational matters in India, the reasons are just those I have indicated above. Is it just a case of the youth movement which is gathering force in other parts of the world, transmitting its currents of influence to India—exactly as might be expected in these days of the solidarity of the peoples.

I think that to a large extent this is the case, and that to this extent we should give a welcome to all the freedom and the joyousness, the fulness of life and consciousness of growing strength that the movement brings, and try to remould our educational ideals accordingly. But other elements enter into the situation which seem to me to be not quite so fully in harmony with the true ideals of education and to be rather discordant intrusions from another sphere. It has seemed to some that as a result of this intrusion the authority of the teacher is in danger in this land where such authority has been in the past almost greater than in any other land. Is this the case, and, if so, what are the reasons?

Now it would be ridiculous to be nervous about the diminution of academic authority if this meant that we cared for nothing except prestige and the maintenance of the existing state of things, that we desired to continue the pressure of the older generation upon the younger, and that we refused to acknowledge the claim and the right of younger people to greater freedom and to greater respect and reverence than have often been granted to them in the past. If this were all that the academic authorities were shaking their heads about, I for one would have little sympathy for them and would be inclined to say that they cannot hope to turn back the hands of the clock. But unfortunately it has become clear in connection with some comparatively recent instances of restlessness in the student world that we have here not merely the natural impatience of the young against academic restraints imposed by their elders. Some of the responsible elders have joined with the youths, and there has been a confusion of ideas and cross currents of influence. The academic authorities have been considered to be upholding much more than academic authority, and to be desiring a maintenance of the *status quo* in

every conceivable respect, and on the other hand the currents of the youth movement have been diverted into channels which are certainly not immediately suggested by the name of the movement. What might be described as the inevitable and agelong competition between the old and the new has been mixed up with the conflict between opposing schools of political thought, and this confusion has been good neither for the University authorities nor for the politicians. I am not one who would argue for a moment that students should be detached from interest in public questions or should cease to prepare themselves for public life, but a University is a University, and by virtue of its very name should be inclusive of all the shades of political opinion which are current in the world outside, I consider it to be nothing short of disastrous that political divisions should ever be thought to coincide with the natural distinction between University authorities on the one side and the students on the other. Such a coincidence, even if it does nothing more, causes inevitably a disturbance of that calm which the true student desires and which is so necessary for study. I believe that the majority of students resent this disturbance and would give much for quietness. I would object to this coincidence equally strongly even if political positions were entirely reversed and all University authorities were red-hot progressives and all students were ice-cold conservatives.

My reason for this position is that political controversy seems to me to be essentially a conflict of opinion between equals, whereas if a teacher is to be a teacher at all, he must retain some kind of authority over his students—an authority not constituted by any political privilege or any other adventitious advantage, but following inevitably from the essential function of the teacher. For what is this function if it is not to utilise experience and knowledge for the benefit of those

who are as yet without either? The teacher has something to give which the pupil has not as yet got, and the very possession of this implies a certain amount of superiority—and therefore authority on the part of the teacher however tactfully, under the influence of the new methods of teaching, he may endeavour to conceal this superiority. The pupil, again, would not be a pupil if he were not in an attitude of receptivity towards the gift, however unconscious he may be of this need or resentful of a dawning consciousness of it. Some degree of authority therefore attaches to the relationship, and you cannot get away from it. Would any one really want to get away from it if his mind were not blinded by extraneous considerations?

The introduction also of trade union principles and actions into academic life implies a confusion of ideas and indicates a situation where either teachers or pupils or both have forgotten the true meaning of academic authority. The methods of industrial disputes—lock-outs or strikes or such like procedures—have relation to controversies between those who are equals in age or personal achievements. They are not in place in connection with any disturbance of the relation between teacher and pupil, and if such methods are used or encouraged or the confusion of ideas which makes them possible is persisted in, irretrievable damage will be done to one of the most precious possessions of humanity, *viz.*, the power of handing on to the future, through education, the garnered experience and knowledge of the past. It might be pointed out that all these newer movements in education to which I referred a few minutes ago are not really subversive of the idea of authority, in that they at least imply the guidance of the teacher. I maintain that, whether you take education in its newer or older form, some element of authority is essential to it, always provided that

the authority is neither unsympathetic nor domineering. If for extra-academic reasons the community allows this authority to be flouted, they are paying a great price for a very doubtful benefit, and throwing away a permanent security for a temporary advantage. Those who indulge in wholesale contempt for the past and include in that contempt the authority of teachers who are worthy of the profession, are rendering their own future excessively precarious. It is extremely likely that the progressive of even Sneider-cup race velocity may in a very short time strongly object to his son airing ideas different from his own, and the young man will be severely taken to task if he shows such boldness. Yet I am a little afraid that the position of the father, when this domestic crisis arises, will not be logically very secure, and that precedents supplied by himself will be apt to be quoted against him.

But seriously, why should we thus render the future dangerous? Can we not avoid such consequences by calmly analysing the situation, by making distinctions between things that differ and by getting rid of confusions both of thought and practice? Politicians who exploit and conservatives who coerce would alike benefit by this clearing away of confusions, and India would re-enter upon her great inheritance of respect for the teacher, that inheritance which almost beyond all other nations she has valued in the past and which she cannot afford to despise without great peril both to herself and to the world. It might also be realised that the respect for youthful personality of which we hear so much is so frequently emphasised at present, includes respect for the students' right to study.

So with greater clearness of vision let us come back to consider the central purpose of our University life. As Newman says, "Education implies an action upon our mental nature, and the formation of a character". It will bring about "versatility

of intellect, the command over our own powers, the instinctive just estimate of things as they pass before us". If you who to-day are passing out from this University, have attained to this just estimate, your University will have done her very best for you. For nothing is more necessary at the present day than an insistence on standing by the facts of the situation and by all the facts, so that, not selecting them to suit our fancy, we may find the reason of them, and clasp the central core of truth. This does not mean a dry-as-dust attitude to life. Why not take the best from this youth movement which is so popular, and leave the worst? No one wants you to keep to stereotyped ways, or to discourage in you the feeling of being at the morning of life. Try new ways in response to the creativeness that is your human nature, but remember that not all old ways are evil. The world needs you to set it right, but it has not gone wholly wrong. What is most necessary is that you should learn to stand upon your own feet and use your own judgment, and not be blown hither and thither by every wind of passing fashion. Set your faces sometimes against the wind and fling your handful of seed on high. Who knows how far it may be carried? To-day we wish you all success in the life that lies before you, and this success will be all the more real if you do not restrict your thoughts to that which is merely material. This cannot be separated from the spiritual. It may be true that we cannot explain the spiritual, but it is also true that we cannot explain life without it. As Mrs. Browning says

"Who separates these two

"In art, in morals, or the social drift,

"Tears up the bond of nature and brings death."

Also by being true to your own spiritual selves and making these selves the very best that your ideal suggests, you will cease to be merely individual and render the fullest service to the

community and to the nation for which you care so intensely.

And I should like finally to suggest that at this time in the world's history the greatest opportunity which opens to educated men is that they should take some part in the further unifying of the world which has already become so closely interconnected through bonds of communication and commerce. In the recent *Educational Survey of the League of Nations* it is suggested that "the University of to-day is both national and international. It is national as the apex of national education but it is international because every teacher and student in the field of higher education is necessarily in touch with colleagues who are pursuing similar studies and researches in University centres in other countries. No University worker in any field of knowledge can to-day remain unconscious of the tension resulting from this double character, this national and international character, of his institution".

As again we offer our congratulations to-day to the new graduates of the University of Patna, the highest wish we can form for them is that, filled with this two-fold ambition, they may go forth not only to build up the culture and the character of their own land but to contribute also to the realisation of that international ideal of peace and good-will amongst the nations of varying inheritance who can complete their destiny only by co-operation and combined pursuit of all that is best for humanity.

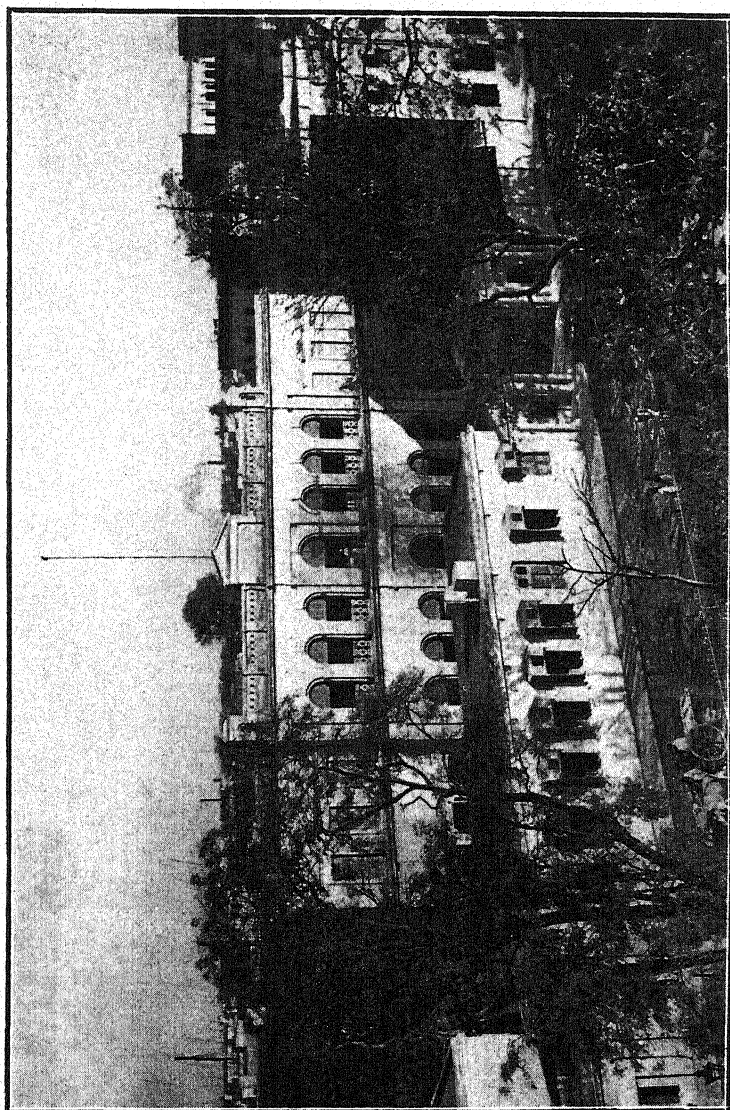
SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

December 12th 1930

A year ago I ventured to draw the attention of the audience assembled on our annual College Day to the approach of our Centenary and I expressed the hope that a great company of friends and well-wishers would gather together, with generous thoughts in their hearts to help us to celebrate the completion of a hundred years of our history. That hope has been fulfilled to-day, and we cordially welcome those who are joining with us in commemoration of the arrival of Dr. Alexander Duff and in the giving of thanks for the conditions and opportunities which he did so much to inaugurate.

It is a matter of great regret that we have not with us to-day His Excellency the Viceroy, and Her Excellency, the Lady Irwin, along with His Excellency, the Governor of Bengal and the Hon. Lady Jackson. We have already had read to us their messages of congratulation and good wishes for our future, and, those who are as fully aware as I am of the special interest which the Viceroy has shown in the preparations for this Centenary, know how keen is his regret at his inability to participate in our proceedings and how nothing but the weightiest reasons would have prevented his presence with us. It would have been peculiarly fitting if he had been able to join us, as his Grandfather, Sir Charles Wood, was in constant consultation with Dr. Duff in the preparation of the famous Education Despatch which determined the form of much of the education of modern India.

But, notwithstanding our disappointment at the absence of the head of the Government of India which would have symbolised the appreciation of the country as a whole in its



SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE.

PHOTO BOURNE & SHEPHERD
CALCUTTA.

corporate capacity, we, none the less cordially welcome you, Sir, as our Chairman to-day, and we include Mrs. Taylor in the welcome. We thank you for the readiness with which you consented on such short notice to preside on this occasion. You are personally a stranger to many of us, but you come as the Special Centenary Delegate, commissioned by the General Assembly of the Church which has sent us forth, and you are the bearer of the message of thanksgiving and goodwill which you have already communicated to us. In a recent letter you described your appointment as one of the greatest honours of your life, and this, as well as the understanding interest which you have already shown in personal intercourse with us, shows your sympathy with us on this sacred and historic occasion and your deep appreciation of its significance both for India and for Scotland.

We thank also the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and the representatives of other Universities and Colleges both in India and Scotland for their interest in our proceedings of to-day and for their messages of appreciation and encouragement. The Universities and Colleges of India have thus again recognised the services of our founder to the cause of education in India, and the Universities of Scotland have illustrated once more the fact that a College such as this forms an unbreakable link between the countries of India and of Scotland.

To-day our thoughts turn naturally to the past,—to those first of all who have been with us here, and are living now in retirement and in distant lands. Specially striking amongst the messages we have received is that from the three ex-Principals who still survive, Dr. Hector, Dr. Morrison and Mr. Lamb; and we are grateful for their continued interest. And along with them we think inevitably of my predecessor in the

Principalship, Dr. Watt, who has recently passed away. He left us here hardly three years ago, and his memory is still fresh amongst us, as we remember his long life of patient and devoted service. One of his last conscious acts was to ask Mrs. Watt, in whose sorrow we reverently share, to bear in mind the sending of a cable message to Calcutta on the occasion of the Centenary. He is now one of the great cloud of witnesses around us to-day of whose presence we are conscious as we send our thoughts back through the century that is gone.

The exact date of our Centenary fell upon the 13th of July. I have sometimes wondered in recent months what our founder Dr. Duff would have thought if he had been here on the 13th of July 1930. He would certainly have found abundant evidence of the new life which he deliberately set himself to evoke, but he might have been somewhat surprised at some of the forms of its manifestation. Picketing and siege would hardly have entered into his calculations, and even his vivid celtic imagination could with difficulty have pictured some of the details of our experiences. But he would have had penetration enough to see beneath the surface, and to distinguish and discern the genuine personal friendliness which lay underneath the superficial antagonism.

And just as Dr. Duff looked forward beyond his immediate present, so may we, unless we are to follow the example of some rather short-sighted and narrow-minded critics, look back to the hundred years of opportunity which have been given to the College, and we may give God thanks for the good men and true who have laboured in this place and into whose heritage we have entered, and we may perhaps be allowed to feel, that, notwithstanding many failures, much that is of enduring value has been accomplished for the good of this

country to which we now belong. We are living in unpeaceful times, and it is difficult occasionally to see beyond the controversies of the present and to remember that a century's work must be judged by normal and not by abnormal conditions. It is so fatally easy to look upon the immediate present with a magnifying glass, and turn the wrong end of the telescope to the past. It is so easy to fasten upon one class of the people the blame for the upsetting of the equilibrium of society, without enquiring sufficiently into the causes which have upset the equilibrium of that particular class. It is so strangely easy for an educated man to cry out upon education as the source of all evil—in other people; so very easy but also so very illogical, and so very disrespectful to one's own past. Those who are disposed to be critical in this indiscriminating way might call to mind once more the claim they themselves make to be educated people, and remember that they have no moral right to withhold from others the benefits which they themselves have received. No true Scotsman at least, coming from a country where education has been valued almost above any other good, can approve of the principle that the best way to cure unrest is to curtail the opportunities for education. We here in this College cannot and do not believe that what has been efficacious in our own country will be less efficacious in Bengal. Dr. Duff a hundred years ago was gratefully conscious of his inheritance, which he himself did not enter into without personal struggle, and desired to pass on to others unimpaired the inheritance of learning. And by 'others' he intended the people of India. It was this desire which brought him to India and started him on that magnificent activity which we commemorate to-day. It is this ideal, I hope, which still insures his successors of to-day, and enables them to look forward hopefully to the

future with a consciousness both of vocation and opportunity, notwithstanding many present difficulties.

The past hundred years have made our predecessors and ourselves conscious of close affinity and deep friendship between Scotland and India. The constant co-operation of our Indian colleagues, and the presence to-day of so many of our former students make us feel that this consciousness is shared by the people of this land. And we hope that they will permit us and encourage us to go on with the work which Dr. Duff began, sharing with them the heritage which he inherited and passed on to us, a heritage both of religious and intellectual character, creative of a belief that there is no education worthy of the name which is not also religious and moral, and which does not seek to share the deepest religious experiences. In that faith that Jesus Christ is the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, Dr. Duff came to India one hundred years ago. In that faith we pray that we may go forward to the new century, believing that the spirit and message of Christianity if only it were more adequately exemplified can bring peace and strength to India.

In speaking on behalf of the college, I should like to associate also with me Mr. Hensman, the headmaster of the Collegiate School and his staff of teachers. The School is to have a special centenary celebration of its own at the time of the annual prize-giving, but we must remember that though the School has now a separate existence in a building of its own it was for many years an integral part of the work carried on by the College, housed in the same building, and also that in its more detached form it still remains one of the results of the work begun by Dr. Duff. The same close association links the College also with the other work of the Scottish Mission the work amongst the women both of town

and country, the educational, the medical and the industrial work in the districts round about Calcutta. Reference to and illustrations of that work have been included in our Centenary booklet, so that it may form a symbol and memento of the multifarious character of the work inaugurated by Dr. Duff.

A year ago I ventured also to speak of the beginning of a Centenary Fund, and I hoped that it might by this time have grown to dimensions such as might enable us to contemplate in the near future many much needed extensions of the College Buildings, such as a new Library, and College Hall, new class-room accommodation, a hostel for our rapidly increasing number of women students whose advent Dr. Duff, with his interest in the education of the women of India, would have rejoiced to seek. The first instalment of the extension is already in being, a set of class-rooms which have cost us upwards of 70,000/-. Over against this actuality and also the possibilities at which I have hinted we have the Centenary Fund in actuality and in possibility. The actuality is not so large as I had hoped. Economic depression and political dispeace have both militated against it, and I have frequently heard it said that there has not been a worse time during the last 100 years for launching such an appeal. But still the fund has reached Rs. 10,000, and we are specially grateful for the donations which have reached us from many of our former students whose means are small and for the encouraging messages with which these gifts have been accompanied. We are also grateful exceedingly for the larger donations such as those from Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh of Rs. 2500/-, Mr. Macmorran of Rs. 1000/-, Sir Daniel Hamilton, the Marquis of Zetland, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, of Rs. 500/- each. Rs. 1300/- has been received as a combined subscription from the Principal and Staff of the College. We only wish that more people who

are rich in this world's goods had followed the example of the munificent individual donors. But it is never too late to mend, and if any feel to-day, or in the near future the stirrings of generous repentance, we shall be glad to cause them to-day to stand and deliver, or to put down their names for a sum to which we would not presume to set an upper limit. We think, and I am sure this great company of people think, that Dr. Duff deserves a worthy memorial, and for all good men and true to think rightly is also to act rightly.

CUTTACK RAVENSHAW COLLEGE
ANNUAL REUNION OF FORMER STUDENTS

1931

It was a matter of great regret to me that I was unable last year to accept your invitation to take part in the Annual Meeting of your Old Boys' Association, and I feel much honoured that you have again extended this invitation to me, even though this year I have not the same official and external claim upon your notice as I might have had a year ago. This is my first visit to Cuttack, and, although I have often heard that your College buildings were the finest in this part of India, I think it is now possible to say that the half has not been told me. I do not, however, feel that I am an outsider because I am a new-comer. I have an interest in the length of the period of history which can be assigned to Ravenshaw College, because it was thinking of coming into being just about the time that I was thinking of coming into life. One of the first of my fellow countrymen that I met in India was a former member of your staff—the late Mr. Shaw, and one of your former principals has been a friend of many years. Sir Jadunath Sircar, my predecessor in the Vice-Chancellorship of Calcutta University, and Prof. Ambica Charan Mitra, whom I learned to revere as a colleague in the Philosophy department of Calcutta University, were distinguished members of your staff.

The development of former students' associations, such as that under the auspices of which you are assembled to-day, is one of the most pleasing features of modern University life, and I think there are signs that India can claim a fair share in that development. In almost every college and even in

many hostels organisations of this kind are springing up, and they fulfil an exceedingly useful function. Here in Cuttack your association seems to have a very vigorous life, and there ought to be plenty of scope for it in this province of Orissa, and in connection with your College, for I read recently that "everybody who is any body in this province naturally belongs to this College." Thus you can start with the assumption that all the prominent people in the neighbourhood are potentially members of your association and that there will never be any lack of vigorous and distinguished co-operation in all your activities.

It ought surely to be inconceivable that the influence of College life should be allowed to disappear immediately after the close of the College curriculum. It is not to be thought of that this most famous stream of College life in bogs and sands should perish, and to evil and to good be lost for ever. We wish it to be lost to evil, if evil there be (although I hope there is none) but certainly not to good. We cannot afford to lose the good that there is in a College like this, good things are too rare in the world. But yet the years spent in college are all too short to bear within their narrow limits all the results that can possibly come out of them. Our college years are over almost before we know that they are begun, or at least before we have fully realised what they can do for us. Think of the books which we read but cannot fully appreciate because we have to study them for examination purposes and cannot see beyond the forbidding forms of the examiners. Think of the professors under whom we study, and whose influence we hardly realise until we turn our thoughts back to them in after-life. Think of the friendships we form, of which we hardly understand the value until the closing days of the last session come, and we are face to face with the

fact that the daily intercourse is soon to be a thing of the past. Think of the whole spirit of the College which, while we are in it, is like the atmosphere we breathe, all unaware of its vital necessity, but of which we feel imperatively the need if even in the slightest degree we are deprived of it. Are all these things to be lost the moment we leave College? Surely not; but they will be, without some such association as that in connection with which we are met to-day. We scatter from our College class-rooms—"scatter to East and West and North, Some with the faint heart, some the stout, Each to the battle of life goes forth, And all alone we must fight it out". As we scatter our sense of unity disappears, our inspiration weakens, our friendships become less intense with the growing distances and the passing of the years. We speak of the power of thought and memory but they can hardly cross effectively the spaces of the world and the distances of time. We are but human and need some tangible form of renewal, if we are not to lose altogether the benefits of these our student years. We need to be helped to recapture our youth as age creeps on—creeps on perhaps not very swiftly as yet with some of us, but still inevitably. We have gone apart into our individual lives, and become immersed in our particular businesses and professions. The poetry of our student youth changes inevitably into the prose of middle life. We are occupied with the concerns and the cares of household and family, and the incessant problems of gaining a livelihood, and our lives become individualised and narrow. We lose the inspiration of the collective spirit. We build walls which shut us in to our separate lives.

So it is a great good that we should come together year after year, on our annual day of celebration, even if we cannot manage more frequent meetings. We come to renew our sense

of gratitude, to think of what we owe to this College, to those who companied with us, to those who led us into the paths of knowledge, to those also who—as we think further back—we realise made possible for us these benefits by creating the opportunities within the scope of which the benefits reached us. We are debtors to the past—the more immediate and also the more distant past, and we should not forget this. We cannot repay our debt to those who laid us under obligation, but we can hand on to the future the repayment which is due from us.

I wonder if we are doing this in any practical way? There are many ways in which we may do this. I think that every student who has prospered in life, but who has cause to remember that in days of student poverty he was helped by the benefactions of others, is not doing his full duty, unless he, out of his present abundance, hands on to students of the present day and those of the future, some share of his prosperity. We cannot hand back what we have received; we can only hand it on. And we should remember to hand it on with interest. The money-lenders are much abused men, and they often give cause for the abuse, but they can teach us one good lesson, and that is always to pay a very high rate of interest upon the benefactions we have received from the past in the shape of education. If we have the means, a hundred per cent interest ought to be our minimum. And if this were our rule, think of the progress which education might make in this land,—if every prosperous student were to make it a point of honour to give back to his College double of what he has received. Think of the splendid class-rooms, the splendid hostels and playing fields, the munificent scholarships, which future students would receive. There would be no more moaning over financial stringency, no more shaking of the head in desolation

over the diminishing of Government grants. Even Governments might take a lesson and become more liberal in the matter of grants if they saw that former students were helping thus liberally.

I have known of many former student associations in other lands which have set before themselves this aim of practical benevolence in discharge of this debt which they owe to the educational benefactors of the past. Colleges have been rebuilt and extended, playing fields have been provided, endowments have been created, largely through the efforts of these associations, and whenever the College or the University was in any special need, it thought first of all of applying to these associations. If this has happened in other lands, why not in India; and if it has happened in other parts of India, why not in Cuttack? And if you are still sceptical as to whether it has really happened in other parts of India, why not emphasise the idea, and make a beginning in Cuttack, in Ravenshaw College so that this College and its old boys association may become a shining example to the whole of the rest of the province and even to the whole of India? Just as—to quote again—“everybody who is any body in this province naturally belonged to this College,” so everybody who is any body in India will look to this College for light and leading in all matters of practical educational benevolence. If the annual College day does not discover a gold mine it may at least discover a silver one and in these dreadful returns which have to be submitted to Government or university inspectors a regularly recurring item, growing rapidly year by year, will be a grant from the former students association. Think of the material benefits which can result from your annual gathering, think and also act, individually and collectively—not only collectively, but collectively—remembering that recollection should lead to collection.

But I do not want to speak merely of material things in discoursing upon what an association such as this can do. We pride ourselves in India upon our spiritual heritage. We speak of it a great deal, and I hope we also act upon it. We have to pass on to others the torch of learning which has been lighted in far back generations, and put into our hands.

But sometimes in our separateness the flame flickers in the winds of local prejudices and conservatism, and we need to come together again to rekindle or strengthen the flame. As I have said, our meeting should help us to recover our sense of unity, and when to this is added our sense of responsibility to the future which our conscious indebtedness to the past implies, we shall surely be moved to consider what joint action can be taken. In our corporate capacity we stand forth on behalf of knowledge and enlightenment. We have been educated and it is our duty to educate others. We have been far removed from illiteracy, is there nothing we can do to help both corporately and distributively those who are ignorant even of the barest rudiments? We have studied the arts and sciences, and this study ought to have given us balance of mind. Is there nothing we can do to remove in our villages and in our townships, the vast mass of prejudice and superstition, which hampers progress by worship of the past and prevents searching into the possibilities of the future? Philosophy ought to give us an insight into the principles of morals and encourage us in the formation of just judgments. Economics ought to give us some understanding of the foundations of rural prosperity in co-operative methods and scientific production, and the study of hygiene and civics ought to enable us to combat some of the greater physical evils in our district, and also propose and prepare measures for more efficient organisation of the forces available for public service.

We are put in trust with all these things by reason of our education. But we become forgetful, individualistic, and these gatherings of ours should awaken our memories, and give us the inspiration which comes from association. It is to the educated people, in the mass and in their collective from as they awake to their responsibilities, that India must look for her salvation, and not merely to government officials, or political emergency leaders. Enlightenment and consequent improvement will come only from the quiet persistent work of those who have themselves been enlightened. The time is past for learning to be looked upon as merely a private possession or at best the property of a small exclusive group, shut up within the walls of a monastery or the bounds of a University. Learning must now be in closest possible association with life, something that is applicable more or less directly to the problems of life, something that is held in trust for the whole community. Thus responsibility is greater than it ever was, and the increased responsibility can be met only by more definite means, such as may be devised in our gathering as former students of any College or University. I hope that we may be able to consider carefully the problems which face us in our society, and to devise some means whereby the more urgent of these problems may be solved. The strengthening of old friendships, such as these gatherings give, is a source of great pleasure, but it will be a source of permanent benefit, if the friendship formed in student days, can become an association of mature men devoted to the common good. There never were greater opportunities than there are at the present time, when the whole country, after being torn by dissension and differing opinion, is at least catching a glimpse of more peaceful conditions, conditions which hold the promise of greater activity on the part of the educated men of

community. Can we as educated men not go to meet this new dawn, full of resolve to labour for the common good throughout the hours of the day which it is to usher in? We shall thus obtain the fullest possible benefit from our association. We shall be interested more and more in what we can do for the material progress of our old college, for charity which does not end at home, usually begins there much more plentifully than a restricted charity. We shall be interested more and more in the wider relations of our College to the community as a whole and shall realise more fully that everybody who is anybody in Orissa, holds his position, not only by belonging to the College, but by belonging effectively to the community in the centre of which the College stands, rich in its traditions and memories, strong in its promises and possibilities.

I wish every success to this Association. and I thank you once again for having asked me to take part in your annual meeting.

LAHORE FORMAN COLLEGE JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

1936

It is an honour and a privilege to be asked to address you this afternoon and to take part in your celebrations as a representative of the other Missionary Colleges in India. I am not an accredited representative in the sense that any machinery of election has been set in motion to send me here, but I may claim to be the senior (or at least the second senior) amongst the principals of the Missionary Colleges, I represent the largest of them and the oldest amongst those whose function is not specialised. We come to you in all our variety of origin, organisation and method, but united in our common desire to offer you cordial congratulations on the record of the past fifty years, and our earnest wishes for a still more glorious future in the altered conditions to which you are looking forward. And we who are of British or Indian origin send our greetings across the seas to your supporters in that great land of the West, rejoicing that in the work of the Kingdom of God there are no divisions which cannot be crossed, and no boundaries which can be transformed into barriers.

We of the Missionary Colleges belong to many different kinds of institutions. Some are small and others are large, some are struggling and others are prosperous, some are designed to meet the needs of the Christian community and others have more widespread purposes, some are interested mainly in theological education, and others give education of a more general character, but never an education which is merely secular without the persistent infusion of religious teaching. The variety is so great that I consider that attempts at generalisation in regard to the

Missionary Colleges are comparatively futile. But I think we can claim that we are all dominated by one single purpose,—the extension of the Kingdom of God here in India. We are all conscious of the inadequacy of our merely human resources and the insufficiency of our efforts.

But there is no reason for pessimism, and after nearly thirty-four years' experience I resolutely combat that notion, and I hold that the opportunities were never greater than they are at present, and that even if our material resources are not susceptible of any spectacular and what would be exceedingly welcome enhancement, the work which we are at present doing is capable of a gradual improvement and enlargement which give us reason for hope rather than fear. In the most recent addition to the Home University Library the author, Prof. Laird of Aberdeen University, in reference to twentieth century philosophy, says, "There is immense industry, and, in certain quarters, an exaggerated willingness to renounce and unlearn", and he goes on to speak of the "little virtue and less promise", which there is "in annual confessions that last year's book was mainly a muddle." What he says about twentieth century philosophy might be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the dangers which lie hidden in a merely critical attitude to missionary colleges.

It is true that there is an even greater danger in an arm-chair conservatism, and that there are many aspects of the present situation which evoke serious concern and call for serious consideration. It is true that, not being now by any means the only "pebbles on the beach", we do not appear to be pioneers so conspicuously as we were when we first entered the comparatively empty field of modern higher education, and this may be sadly misinterpreted by some as an evidence that we have no longer place or opportunity. It is true that some of the smaller colleges find greater difficulty than ever in

maintaining themselves in existence, and that some have recently passed out of existence. It is true that relations to Governments and Universities have become more delicate and in some cases more difficult. But these difficulties are not by any means the whole of the picture. They simply mean that our methods must be more various and more adaptable than sometimes we are ready to believe. We cannot hope to impose our notions of what is best from outside or from above. We may think in terms of small colleges or of large, But I think we shall make a mistake if we think exclusively in terms of either, without sufficient consideration of the requirements of the country and of the possibility of maintaining the institutions, whether small or great, whether for Christians or non-Christians, without too much dependence upon outside help, however willingly given and however welcome. It is not by any means true that relations with Governments and Universities are universally delicate and difficult. They are often exceedingly cordial and growingly so, and I look forward without apprehension to the new conditions which will be established in April next. What is essential for the future is that we should have the good-will of the people amongst whom we work, provided we secure that good-will without any compromise of the principles for which we stand and the purpose for which we work. After all, the practical consideration is, as your Principal put it to me very strongly a year or so ago, not so much the kind of college which outsiders think the students, whether Christian or non-Christian, ought to attend but the kind they *will* attend, and which is capable of being adapted, though perhaps more slowly than we could wish, to the highest purposes. What is the use of elaborating a splendid system if there is no one prepared to accept its benefits to the benefits of the system.

I can only speak from my own experience, and I am optimistic enough to hold that within the last thirty years or so there has been a steady improvement in the conditions under which the Missionary Colleges work and in their opportunities. They enjoy the good-will of the community—which I regard as essential—in an increasing degree, and they provide contacts with all classes, with possibilities of friendship, which seem to become closer every day. The Colleges are respected because of their actual contribution to the uplift of society and because of their sincerity and continuity of purpose. We can go on in our different ways, in small Colleges and large, intensive and extensive work, amongst Christians and non-Christians alike, in a spirit of thankfulness for the past and hopefulness for the future.

And so, united in a forward look, we bring to you our felicitations to-day, giving God thanks for your great tradition, for the good men and true who have laboured in this College and have been called to higher service, and offering our cordial good wishes to the equally good men and true who form the present staff, both for the days of celebration which now are, and for the years of promise that lie ahead.

SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE DAY

1936

There are no outstanding events to report in the year that is past. Peace and comparative prosperity seem to have dwelt within our borders.

There seems to be no lessening of the eagerness on the part of students, both men and women, to obtain admission to the College. Our policy has been to restrict numbers slightly in the Intermediate classes so as to allow of larger numbers in the B.A. classes, and the change of distribution this session has been in this direction. We have admitted a record number of women students, 130 in all, and here again we welcome the fact that the increase is in admission to the senior rather than to the junior classes.

There is a monotony which is tedious and a monotony which is pleasant, and we have experienced the latter kind once more in connection with our University results. It is true that the Intermediate students have not done quite so well this year as their predecessors, but still the I.A. results are above the University average, and the I.Sc. exceed this by 15%. The B.A. candidates, however, have been festooned with University blue ribbons, and broke this College record, if not others, by obtaining the first place in the University in three major B.A. subjects, viz.—English, Philosophy and Economics. In Philosophy this has happened for the second year running, and the successful student has the additional honour of winning the Ishan scholarship, which is given to the student who obtains the highest marks in the University in Honours subjects. This scholarship has now come to the College for three years running and five times in six years, but usually it has fallen to

Mathematics, that subject being of the hit or miss variety, which produces very high marks or—in the experience of some of us—none at all. I am sure our Mathematical colleagues will not grudge for once this distinction for Philosophy. I believe it is many years since a Philosophy student of any college won this honour and nearly twenty years since it last came to this College. Two first classes were obtained by our B.T. Students, one of them being the second place in the University. Our gratitude is due to the many students—too numerous to mention—who have this year brought honour to the College.

Our former students continue to give a good account of themselves and there are few Colleges and Schools in Bengal on which we have not some representatives. At the recent centenary celebrations at Hooghly we found one of them occupying a prominent position on the staff. The Bethune College and the Victoria Institution have been availing themselves of the services of our women alumni, and two of them have recently been appointed as inspectresses of schools. Prominent former students continue at the head of the Philosophy departments in Dacca and Andhra Universities.

We have received much confirmation during the year of the success of our policy in regard to co-education. We are glad to know that other communities besides Hindus, Brahmos and Christians, are acquiring a sense of security regarding it. Amongst the women students we have one representative of the Marwari community, and several Moslem ladies who combine most successfully with the other women students. The still youthful B. T. Department continues thoroughly to justify itself.

The only change in our College Constitution which has taken effect this year has been the addition (after sanction by the Edinburgh Committee) of two members elected by the Indian staff, raising the total number of their elected representatives to five.

The Library and the College Magazine are flourishing under the same efficient management and editorship as last year. The College Societies have given a good account of themselves both academically and socially, and we shall not say in which direction the bias is. The College Union has performed a useful service in co-ordinating and supplementing these activities, as well as in developing on distinctive lines of its own. The Hostels have been peaceful and prosperous, which is a testimony to the efficiency and tact of those who have managed them. The Dundas Women's Hostel contains a very happy family, and its popularity is so great that it has been found necessary to rent an adjoining house capable of holding twenty, which was opened only a few weeks ago, and is proving a most comfortable and desirable annexe.

Athletic interests have prospered. There was great jubilation over winning the Elliott Shield, which has now returned to the College after ten years absence. We hope it will make frequent visits in the years to come. The College was victorious also in the Inter-Collegiate Swimming Championship and it would seem as if our system of compulsory Athletics for First Year students were having good results.

It is encouraging to find so large a gathering of students at Morning Prayers in College, and at the Sunday morning Services in Duff Church. The regular Bible Classes have been well attended, and it is hoped that the teaching given there has had influence upon the students.

New benefactors during the year include Mr. Ramlal Mitra, who has founded, in memory of his son, the "Ajitkumar Mitra" scholarship of Rs. 60/- per annum to be given to the best Intermediate Arts student, who continues his studies in the College. Within the last few days a donor, who wishes to remain anonymous, has done me the much appreciated honour

of presenting Rs. 1000/- to found the Urquhart Medal or Book Prize, to be given to the student who, in the opinion of the Principal, is the most distinguished amongst the women students, or, in any year when the Hawkins Medal goes to a woman student, amongst the men students.

Our finances generally are no better than they were. We can just manage to make ends meet and no more, and the salary bill, on account of the otherwise very welcome long-continued service of our staff, is automatically increasing. We await with confident expectation the greater generosity of the Government in that good time which is coming, financially, to Bengal, and we are still hopeful that some private donors, amongst our many prosperous former students, will arise to make possible, the much needed enlargement of the College buildings. In the meantime, and notwithstanding inadequate resources, we have almost decided to proceed with the construction of a Library Hall in the eastern portion of the College, and we hope that a venture which is begun in faith may uncover some substantial support before its completion.

This is the last College Day on which I shall have the privilege of presenting the Principal's Report. I look back with great thankfulness to the years that are past, conscious of many shortcomings in my service, but full of appreciation of the constant co-operation I have received. Notwithstanding many attacks which have recently been made, I am more convinced than ever of the great opportunities for higher education in this country. Vocational education is a supplement to higher education, but can never be a substitute for it. I am still of opinion that the former is best given in actual apprenticeship, and I am a little sceptical as to whether the development of it is the proper function of a University or a College. There never was a time when there was a

greater need for leaders in India, and if a College fulfils its ideal it will produce such leaders, provided, I admit, that it is not swamped by numbers of would-be students who are not fitted for University education. The main requirement is that those who go forth from our Colleges should be imbued with the spirit of service of the commonwealth, and that they should regard themselves as channels whereby benefits may be conveyed to the multitude—the benefits of primary education and of the development of economic resources. There is no limit to the range of such benefits. We were reading the other day an appeal e.g. for the extension of nutrition research in which it was argued that “poverty went with ignorance, and ignorance was a potent cause of mal-nutrition. The conquest of illiteracy and the spread of education would tend to further the adoption of sensible dietary habits”. Such desirable consequences can result only if those who go forth from our Colleges are men and women of far-seeing wisdom and broad sympathies who are ready to care for those less fortunate than themselves and willing to labour in their behalf. The other day I heard of a former student, well on in life and highly placed, who said to an old class-fellow, “I owe all that I am to the Scottish Church College,” and I should like to think that similar sentiments are cherished by not a few. If our College can send out men and women of such a type it will not have failed of its object. As regards the special religious purpose of a College such as ours, I am convinced that the opportunities were never greater than they are at present. I have witnessed many changes in the years I have been in India, and I am optimistic enough to believe that in our College the changes have been for the better.

In these years I have made many friends in Bengal and throughout India. I shall certainly not forget them, and I

hope they will not forget me. Although it is not yet time to take farewell, yet on this my last College Day I should like to offer to my many students, scattered in their thousands throughout Bengal, my very cordial acknowledgment of their friendship and affection, and my earnest wishes for their welfare in the many different spheres in which they find themselves. To my colleagues, both those who have passed from mortal sight and those who are with us still, I owe a debt which can never be repaid for the constant friendship and loyalty they have shown both to my wife—longest my colleague—and to myself in all the years we have been associated with Bengal. It will be hard to leave this College in which I have spent the greater part of my life. I commend the College and all its interests to your affections and your prayers. I appeal to the present students to remember the great tradition into which they have entered and to hand on their heritage unblemished to their successors. I am convinced that future College days will give an opportunity for a record of increasing usefulness and devotion to the highest interest of Bengal and India, which I believe can be most fully served by the greater diffusion of the spirit of the Christ.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS—LAHORE

1929

A good deal has been said recently in the public press about the number of conferences and congresses meeting in Lahore, and it is significant that the cause of philosophy has been able to hold its own and the interest in it has not been crowded out by other interests. Yet it is also significant that in the list of gatherings given in some of the newspapers the name of the Philosophical Congress did not find a place. This omission seems to me to be symbolic and to indicate that, while philosophy cannot be denied its portion in the fundamental scheme of arrangements either for Lahore or for the universe, it does not get the full share of open recognition which it ought to have in modern times. It is pushed into the background, and as Kant asked the reason of the failure of metaphysics in the merely intellectual sphere, so the question may be put as to the reason of its comparative want of influence in the broader sphere of life.

I do not know that I am willing to subscribe to the philosophically pessimistic creed that the influence of philosophy is gradually diminishing. I am inclined to think, however, that the influence is decidedly less obvious than it was some time ago. Its popularity as a subject of University study is not what it was, and the number of students who take this subject in an academic course is probably about a third of what it was some twenty years ago. Of course this may be all to the good, and lessening extensity may mean greater intensity of study. It may also be argued that students are not yet sufficiently mature to

be reckoned as typical judges of the true value of a study in the later and more general estimate of the community, but after all the students of to-day are the leaders of the thought to-morrow, and if a sadly diminishing number of them is being philosophically trained the outlook is not good for the philosophical attitude and capacity of the people as a whole.

It can hardly be denied that conditions have changed since the days of Plato, who thought that state to be most happy whose rulers were possessed of philosophical ability, and who was willing to commit the destinies of the peoples to their charge. Times have changed too since the still earlier beginning of philosophical speculation in this country when the philosopher had a dignity and an influence such as few other lands have assigned to him. What is the reason of this change which the centuries have wrought, if we are correct in describing the direction of the tendency?

It might be useful to look at the nature of the studies which have ousted philosophy from the place of honour which once it held. Turn again to the partialities of students, not confining yourselves merely to the younger students, and you find that the study of the particular sciences has developed enormously and often at the expense of broader philosophical studies which might act as a bond amongst them. The subject-matter of the sciences seems to be confined within more manageable limits, to give promise of more definite results, and to have more practical bearing upon life. Again in our colleges the classes in economics are filled to overflowing, also at the expense of the philosophical classes. It is felt that the economics, especially if allied to political philosophy, is more calculated to fit men for success in life, more calculated to promote the industrial welfare of the country or to fit men for fulfilling the functions of useful citizens. Again, coming nearer to the borders of philosophy

proper, you find an intense and growing interest in psychological study, especially in its physiological aspects. Does it not seem as if men were saying to themselves that they wished to begin with studies nearer to themselves, where they could be sure of facts, that they were endeavouring to get guidance merely from an analysis of human nature, without venturing to launch out beyond themselves, as if they had returned to the cautionary attitude of Hume who thought that his line was too short to fathom the immense abysses beneath which reality might—but also might not—lie?

So the conclusion would seem to be that philosophy is neglected because it is too little practical, or because it has had or can have so little success even in regard to its own essential purpose of reaching the fundamental reality of the universe. A narrowing of the field of human interest is thus becoming manifest. Men will not travel far into speculative regions because it is more useful to remain at home, or because they do not think that it is possible to do anything else but remain at home. The spirit of adventurousness has decreased and parochialism is prevalent in the provinces of the mind. Such an attitude is either gladly accepted or sadly acquiesced in, according as the practical mood or the pessimistic mood gains the upper hand.

Now the question I wish to put before you is this. Must philosophy calmly submit to this charge of being either unpractical or impotent? It is a question which may perhaps fitly be put to you by one who in recent months has been so fully occupied in activities which I may describe, not as unphilosophical, but as not fully philosophical, that specialist or concentrated study has been rendered impossible for him, and his ears have become unfamiliar with the language of the schools or the technicalities of philosophical terminology. I have thus

been almost forced into the position of a layman in philosophy and one result of this is that I feel that I am a most unworthy occupant of this chair to which you have done me the great honour of calling me. Another result is that my interest in what might be called specialist philosophy has somewhat lessened at the present time, and I am more disposed to reflect upon the practical influence upon life of philosophy and the philosophical material which is latent in the proceedings of public bodies.

Some of you will no doubt say that this is a useless enquiry because philosophy was never meant to be practical and you hold that its chief glory lies in the fact that it is far removed from the dust and heat of the conflicts of life. You say that it is degraded if it is dragged down into the market-place, it retains its value only in detachment, and it exerts what influence it may have only through the maintenance of a philosophic calm in which conclusions may be reached about the eternal realities, uninfluenced by the confusions which result from the pressure and hurry of ordinary occupations. Let this garment of philosophic detachment, it is urged, continue to be wrapped about the philosopher.

Now I consider that this is a somewhat old-fashioned view about the relation of philosophy to life. It means that we have too readily acquiesced in the division of human interests into the theoretical and the practical, and the result has been to the detriment of both aspects. Philosophy is perhaps primarily theoretical, but if in this aspect it is separated off too abruptly from the practical, the energy of the thought itself which dwells within the theoretical sphere is weakened and it fails to reach satisfactorily even its own proper goal. There are signs that we are transcending this division, and one indication is the waning popularity of the intellectualistic school associated with

the names of Bradley and Bosanquet, and the growing emphasis upon more activistic factors in philosophical construction. I spoke, therefore, of the division as reflecting a somewhat old-fashioned view, but this statement is perhaps hardly correct if we take longer views and bring under consideration some of the earliest conceptions of philosophy both in the East and in the West. It can hardly be gainsaid that one of the outstanding characteristics of the philosophy of both Plato and Aristotle is their grasp of the conception of the wholeness of life and their desire to apply philosophical principles to the guidance of even the practical life. The good in Plato was comprehensive and not merely intellectual, and amongst Aristotle's principal works are treatises upon Ethics and Politics. In the working out of their system they may not always have escaped the dualism between the theoretical and the practical, but their intention was clearly in the direction of unity. In ancient India also was it not the ideal that philosophy should be in close alliance with religion, should dominate the whole of life? The *Shastras* which contained philosophical speculation were intimately bound up with the *Shastras* which afforded guidance for the ordinary life of the householder, and however much the philosopher may have allowed himself to become detached from the world and absorbed in abstract mystical speculation, and however much the ordinary citizen may have become engrossed with ritual and domestic details of lesser significance to the sacrifice of the more properly philosophical attitude, I cannot think that this ideal has ever been lost sight of.

In remedy of this unnecessary divorce, it seems to me that a way of approach towards more organic unity may be found in the recovery of and re-emphasis upon the older alliance between the philosophy and religion. I consider it unfortunate that any antagonism should have seemed to grow up between

these two aspects of human activity, that they should have been compared with one another as if they were rivals, and that philosophy should have been placed above religion as if the philosopher had reached a higher level than the merely religious man. There is a tendency sometimes to object to the application of any religious test in the estimation of a philosophy and to argue that if a philosophical position fails to satisfy the religious requirements of men, this is so much the worse for religion and definitely indicates that the religious attitude is not the highest which it is possible for men to occupy. Prof. Radhakrishnan, for example, holds that if we remain at the religious level we shall be involved in a dilemma. "If God is perfect," he says, "religion is impossible. If God is imperfect, religion is ineffective" (97). "The end of religion is the transcendence of religion" and again "Religious worship has to be accepted until the perfect condition is reached." Mr. Kirtikar in his *Studies in the Vedānta* is even more emphatic and asks rather indignantly, "Is philosophic truth to be sacrificed lest its recognition might shake the very foundations of religion?" (106). Yet these two authors themselves do not seem to be wholly satisfied with this position. Prof. Radhakrishnan in the same earlier book says that "true religion and true philosophy will agree" and his later writings evince a still strong desire to identify religion and philosophy, while Mr. Kirtikar accepts as one of the excellences of the Vedānta, its capacity for developing the highest religious spirit. Yet I do not admit that this identification and this acceptance should be effected only by placing religion in a definitely subordinate position or that reconciliation should be brought about necessarily by means of a religion turned philosophy rather than by philosophy turned religion. I consider that religion should in its own rights be regarded as a suitable criterion of the worth of a philosophical conception, and that

when a philosophy fails to satisfy religious requirements, we should not be content to abandon the religious test but should be as ready to ask whether the philosophical conception does not require modification just because of this failure to satisfy religious needs. I think that religion, because it is based upon the relation of the whole man to the eternal and fundamental reality, has a right to a share in our determination and description of that reality if we keep in view the necessity of satisfying all sides of our being,—which necessity religion emphasises,—we shall reach a conception of the ultimate which will contain within it a more comprehensive explanation of the world in which we live and will not involve a turning away on our part from that world or compel philosophy to a repudiation of any claim to the control of practice of life. I am not setting the various aspects of our being in a competitive relation to one another and pleading that we should turn away from the claims of reason that we may satisfy the emotions and the will. It is not a case of the heart having reasons which the reason never knew, but rather I plead for organisation of our faculties that they may act in co-operation with each other. I am convinced, as Prof. Alexander puts it, that "The world is not what it is merely for intellect alone; its *nisus* towards what is higher enters into its constitution, it affects the mind by ways other than cognition, though interpretable in the ways of cognition." Religion, with its stress upon union or communion with the divine, points the way also to the highest philosophical position, and teaches us that it is not by abstraction from or by the thinning down of experience that we shall reach God, but rather by taking with us the fulness of human nature, and entertaining the idea that this nature in all its manifoldness is the reproduction of the divine. We shall thus understand something more of the simplicity of the divine nature which is

not a simplicity of emptiness but of organic fulness. Not by knowing many things but by knowing much of the one Reality, shall we come nearer to our goal, shall we "clasp of Truth the central core" and "hold fast that centre's central sense An atom there shall fill thee more Than realms on Truth's circumference." Philosophy is just the intellectualised aspect of the fulness of the content of religion, and it is by recognition of this that philosophy will recover its control of life.

If philosophy is regarded as a separate discipline, severely intellectual, it is bound to fall into negations and abstractions resulting in detachment from life. There is nothing either great or small, and yet in our philosophy we have tended to emphasise the infinitely great or the infinitely small, oblivious of what lies between. We negate the ordinary and then we wonder why philosophy is out of touch with life, which is the organising of the ordinary. Apply this thought to some of the problems of our own time. Take, for example, the youth movement. How can its enthusiastic supporters do anything but look askance at philosophy if the latter can find no room in its fundamental thinking for the conception of life? It is more life and fuller that youth wants, and yet philosophy has been too often a meditation upon death, and through its devotion to abstractions has inculcated a deadening down of our faculties of perception and of enjoyment if we desire to reach the completest contact with reality. I do not think that philosophers ought to look down from a superior height upon such movements as these, but they can only come into touch with them and be capable of helping them to worthier aims and endeavours if the philosophers get a grip of some positive reality and show how it can be so developed as to explain and also control the movements of new life which are pulsing through the veins

of so many of those with whom we are associated. Philosophy can be of little use in modern life if it conceives that it is its duty always to suppress emotion by means of argument instead of to see that emotion presents a material which may be sublimated but not necessarily destroyed by philosophy. There must be a philosophical recognition of the saying of Keats "Axioms are not axioms until they are proved upon our pulses." Again philosophy has tended too much to the abstract universal, even in regard to practical maxims. It is a common criticism of Kant, *e.g.*, that he pays more attention to the form than to the matter of morality, but, while theoretically critical of his universal maxim that we should act so that the maxim of our own will may become a universal law, we are often apt to apply it practically with the very same ruthlessness to which we object in him. Take again the youth movement, as it happens to be at present a popular topic. Philosophers might be tempted to frown it out of existence, simply because it could not be universalised without an unfair sacrifice of age to youth. But here we would be paying too much attention to the mere form of Kant's universal rule, rather than to its underlying meaning, *viz.*, an emphasis upon the worth of every human personality. If we lay emphasis upon the concreteness of this conception rather than upon the abstractions of the general rule, we shall be in a better position to be guides, philosophers and friends even to those who overtly are contemptuous of philosophy. We shall understand that this movement is a revolt against those who have *undervalued the personality of youth*, and shall be able to point out that the personality characteristic of one generation can be properly developed only along with an adequate respect for the personalities of older men. We shall thus be able to take up a positive and constructive attitude instead of a negative and destructive attitude.

The same requirement may be illustrated by its application to the conception of nationality. Political leaders might be greatly benefited by the application of philosophical principles to their ideals. But philosophy must cease to be abstract if it is to be of any use. An abstract philosophy will simply brush aside all questions about nationalism as being concerned merely with "names and forms" and therefore beneath the notice of those who would occupy the highest point of view. Or they will apply again the maxim of Kant, and point out that nationality is an unsatisfactory practical conception because it cannot be universalised. But here again a further and more concrete study will remind us of Kant's further conception of a 'kingdom of ends' and will lead us on to the conceptions of organism and organisation, teaching us by the way that the nearer loyalty is not inconsistent with devotion to a universal ideal, and warning us against selfishness and the disregard of other people's interests in all our politics. Those who remain devoted to an abstract philosophy, cannot be leaders of the people, and yet why should not philosophers who have reconstructed their philosophy on a more organic basis and draw their problems from practical life, be leaders of the people, saving them from the destructive antagonisms which are so harmful instead of remaining coldly indifferent? I believe that the peace of the world has been disturbed by the unphilosophical attitude of the leaders on both sides in many political conflicts. I believe that there is room for a philosophical interpretation of many of the principles, underlying the League of Nations for example, and that philosophers would be much better employed if they turned their attention in this direction than they are in many of the abstract disquisitions of which they are so fond. They might not readily get a hearing from the politicians of either party, because they are regarded as useless and unpractical people, but

that is due to the bad tradition they have inherited, and what I am pleading for is this that philosophers should so criticise and reconstruct their fundamental positions that they will feel that they are impelled by their very philosophical views to a more practical attitude to life, and that they can derive from their speculative thinking something that will be of use to the people round about them.

There is the greatest need of philosophers at the present time—need for men who will pay attention to facts and to all the facts, need for balanced judgment upon these facts, need for the control of the passions by the philosophical mind, need for the weighing of evidence carefully and considerately, need for a conception of the universal which will not allow of the undue dominance of any particular and sectional interests, need for a recapture of that spiritual interest which will destroy the cheap cynicism which thinks that in any reconstruction of society only material consequences are worthy of consideration. Philosophy must cease from its preoccupation with merely petty questions and obtain a grasp upon reality fully conceived—intellectually, emotionally, volitionally and spiritually—if it is to render that adequate service to humanity which may be expected of it.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS—CALCUTTA

1935

It is a great pleasure and a great honour to be in the position of offering the members of the Indian Philosophical Congress a very cordial welcome to Calcutta. I regret the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. S. P. Mookerjee who although not a philosopher has philosophical inclinations, and who, had it not been for another engagement, would have taken the place temporarily assigned to me. Ten years and more have elapsed since this Congress had its inception in this very city. It was sponsored by distinguished men, some of whom are with us to-day, but many of whom have left this part of the world, or have passed altogether beyond our mortal sight. In the meantime the Congress has from year to year found a local habitation in many different centres in India. From north to south, from east to west, it has carried the torch of philosophic learning. I hope it has lightened the darkness in which dwell the minds of the unphilosophical and, as regards the philosophically inclined, has retarded the coming of the twilight in which the owl of Minerva, according to the oft-quoted saying, is supposed to take her flight. You have come together from many different seats of learning and with many different traditions. Some of you are returning to your own University city, and we welcome you back again, hoping, not against hope, that you have never ceased to value the influences which gave you your initial philosophic impulse. Others are the products of a different cultural inheritance, and some of them, reversing the popular saying, may even claim to have thought yesterday what Bengal thinks to-day. But in this matter of philosophic

thought, and in relation to the growth of a fuller sense of Indian unity, there can be no rivalry between different parts of India. We come to pool our experience and contributions from every source are welcome.

To some philosophy may seem to have fallen on evil days, and in this practical age to have become unpopular because it is unpractical. But it seems to me that we have little reason to be pessimistic, and that there is perhaps more need to-day of the philosopher than there ever has been before. It is when things are in a state of flux that there is the greater need of the assertion of underlying principles. It is when the barriers that divide the nations are breaking down in the sense that at least their reasonableness is being questioned, that there is the greater necessity for discovering a new method of co-operation and a new basis for unification. The relationship between the one and the many, which is supposed to be the fundamental philosophical problem, is not without its application to current politics in these days when the future of democracy is a matter of doubtfulness and the desire for dictatorship is a world-wide tendency, if not a world-wide peril. And such a tendency raises again the philosophical questions of the basis of authority and the possible freedom of the individual in relation to the claims of society. There can be no security for the future of society without much sane thinking on these controversial topics, and in a Congress such as this it may perhaps be claimed, without risk of being accused of overweening self-confidence, that philosophers are sometimes sane. Even the much-discussed question of the relation of vocational and general education is capable of philosophical treatment, for is it not a question of how the fundamental capacities of human nature are to be directed into special expression within particular environments. Even the tragically serious question of

unemployment is ultimately one of the application of the idea of the concrete universal or of the principle that the importance of every part of the whole must be recognised, and that all individuals must be granted their right to participate in the purpose of the whole. The insistence upon the abstract universal in philosophy has its practical counterpart in an attitude of indifference to the claims and opportunities of certain sections of society, and similarly it is possible that a remedy for the economic disease might be suggested by a reconsideration of an age-long philosophical attitude.

So, in welcoming you to this Philosophical Congress, I welcome you to spend your time not in futile beating of the philosophic air, but in the consideration of problems which may have a practical bearing. In this bustling city of Calcutta we may sometimes lament the absence of philosophic calm, but perhaps proximity to the activities of a great population, may, by suggestion, clothe with flesh and blood the dry bones of academic speculation. In any case I welcome you as guests of the philosophers of this city and this University, and I express the hope that when you go away again, you will have no occasion to shake your heads regretfully and murmur sadly with an inclination to a negative answer the oft repeated question, 'Stands Bengal where it did?'

STUDENTS' CONFERENCE IN CALCUTTA

1931

You have done me the honour of inviting me to be present at your Conference to-day, and the invitation of a body of students of Bengal is not one to be lightly set aside or allowed to remain unappreciated. You indeed in your courtesy, attempted to increase the honour by requesting me to be the "inaugurator" of your Conference, but I expressly refused that high-sounding title, as being more suitable for one who would come with participating responsibility or with the ceremony and the authority of high position. I accepted your kind invitation only on the understanding that that you wished to give me a very much valued opportunity of addressing you upon the present position and opportunities of students before you began the actual proceedings of the Conference.

I confess I do not quite understand why you have invited me to occupy this high position or have surrendered yourselves into my hands at the risk of being bored with any counsel I may have to give. You know perfectly well that I belong to no party and that both in academic and other matters I have persistently tried—with what success I leave it to others to say—to find a middle way of reconciliation and peace. You know perfectly well also that on other occasions I have given you advice which I considered good, but about which you, or at least some of you, thought otherwise, which you listened to at the time with perfect courtesy but *did not follow*—at least not immediately. Occasionally, I must admit I was tempted to feel that I had been altogether discharged from any position such as that of adviser on any matter to the students of Bengal. But here I am again, and here are you, patients ready to

swallow the dose provided it be not too bitter, or at least ready to listen to the advice, provided you are allowed to defer your decision as to the following of it. But I hope that in this case you will not defer a favourable decision too long, because you know the saying "hope deferred maketh the heart sick", and you as my hosts will naturally be concerned about the health of your guest.

I think you have invited me here to-day because you believe that, notwithstanding any differences of opinion, policy or action, I have at heart the good of the students of Bengal, and because you have in your deepest consciousness a reverence for the ideals for which I stand, or try to stand, however unworthily I may represent them. You do not expect me to agree with all the conclusions you will reach to-day or to accept responsibility for them, but you do expect me to desire, along with you, the greater good of India, and to desire also along with you, that ways of peace and honour and righteousness may be discovered, on which the students of India may advance to the true service of their country. I can assure you that if this is your expectation of me, you need not be disappointed as far as my attitude of mind goes.

I have spent well on to thirty years in the service of India and her students, and I hope that in the years that remain, however few they may be, I may see peace and order and harmony and prosperity restored to this land. This can come about only in so far as the students of to-day resolve with all the earnestness that they can command to judge judgments that are righteous, to act according to such judgments, to work constructively and not destructively, to make the religious spirit the inspiration of their politics and their service, and in accordance with this, to respect the personality and freedom of each individual to whatever race or party he may

belong. Such principles as these will certainly guide you ultimately to your desired end, and I hope that they may influence in increasing measure your immediate action.

Let me say a few more words on some general points suggested. In the first place I should like to make an appeal for the avoidance of party and class judgments, or in other words for the application of logic to conferences and to life. We have heard a great deal recently about compulsory Sanskrit, and, less recently, about compulsory science in our school curricula. I should like to put in a plea for compulsory logic, not only at school or college, but in later life. I suggest the formation of a College of Logic for the Universe, in which there should be regular refresher courses, which all statesmen and politicians, all leaders of public opinion, all newspaper editors and journalists should be compelled to attend at least once a year to refresh their memory of what they may have learned in student days but have occasionally forgotten to apply in later years. Present students also would be none the worse of realising that logic is not only an affair of the class room but has application to their daily life. For the principalship of such a college there might be great difficulty in finding the proper person, and I personally am not thinking of applying for the appointment, but a suitable candidate would be a benefactor of humanity, if he could be found.

But speaking seriously—and very seriously—I should like to take this opportunity of protesting publicly against all hasty generalisations, especially as they affect the student community. Many of us have recently been deeply pained by the readiness with which entirely justifiable condemnation of the perpetrators of deeds of violence has been transformed into a condemnation of the student body as a whole. I am

second to none in my absolute condemnation of these criminal deeds, which have recently been so tragically before the public, and I entirely disapprove of any statements which may be interpreted as giving encouragement to such deeds. Wherever a double interpretation of language is possible, it ought to be made perfectly clear in connection with events of such moment that only one of the possible interpretations is intended. At the same time I do protest most earnestly on behalf of the student community, against wholesale condemnation of the class to which you belong. No class should be condemned because of the evil deeds of some of its members. If this were allowed, what class in any society would stand clear of all reproach? At the same time, also, students must be very jealous of their own honour, lest in moments of enthusiasm they reason wrongly from the general to the particular, and by suggesting that because patriotism is good, therefore any act done in the name of patriotism is also good, encourage some to perpetrate deeds of violence. Cut yourselves entirely loose from all pronouncements which would give occasion to any such accusations against you. Remember that the honour of India is in your keeping, and I am very jealous for the honour of India's students lest in any way it should be tarnished, or lest by false emotion they should be prevented from rendering true service to their country.

Remember that class judgments based on hasty generalisation are the ruin of public life. Why should we be so ready to conclude that because a person belongs to a certain community or group, it may be, opposed to our own way of thinking, nothing good can be expected of him. Try in all your deliberations to carry with you this principle of getting down to the facts of the case. You will do more good in the

world by trusting a man until he is proved false than by taking it for granted at the beginning that he is false. It is better to love than to hate, and, even if unfortunately you begin with hate, further investigation may show that there is a soul of good in things and people apparently evil. It is your duty to extract that good, and bring it to the light of day, instead of dwelling gloatingly upon the evil. It has been said that the function of education is to turn fury to reason, and you are potentially educated men. Do not believe everything evil about people who belong to a class you dislike. The world will reach peace only by trust. Apply this principle to some of your resolutions. You may dislike certain measures which have been taken, but do not always assume that the motive behind the measures you dislike is a bad one. It may be good in its aim, only there may be different opinions as to the way of reaching the good.

Again, I would appeal for an application of the logical principle of relevancy. Keep to the main subject at issue in all your deliberations. Do not be led away by irrelevant details. I may take an example to make my meaning clear. You are discussing, I see, the subject of capital punishment, and many people in many countries are discussing the same problem, and wondering whether the law should not be changed. But do not be diverted from this perfectly good subject for discussion into attacks upon those who have to administer the law *as it stands*, or into arguments that the severity of the law justifies the criminal who is punished under that law.

If I have not wearied you, another counsel I should like to give you is to apply to all your deliberations the principle of life. It is positive and not negative. So in all your deliberations see to it that your principle is positive and not negative. I have no faith in mere negation and inactivity.

I do not believe in looking always to the past, and asking whether this thing or that thing has been done wrong in the past. I believe in asking what can now be done rightly, rather than in brooding over what may have been done wrongly. In his poem Dante condemns some to the punishment of having to proceed with their heads eternally turned backwards. So I ask you to look very critically against all movements which are merely negative, which aim at the destruction of men's livelihood rather than their advancement. I have no doubt there may be a certain amount of protection necessary for infant industries on economic grounds, but as merely an ignorant ethicist I have much more faith in positive value and in the ability of good work and good material to make its own way, than in any policy which depends on safeguards on the one side or boycott on the other. I think that the salvation of India and of the world depends on our getting to a higher level than that of mere strife and competition, on our emphasising positive contribution rather than artificial hindrances. You students are idealists: see that you live in the power of the ideal.

I do not think you will take it amiss if in conclusion I say once more, as I have said before, that in my opinion the only point of view from which questions can be properly and adequately discussed is the religious point of view, which produces in us a sense of world unity, makes us averse from the continuance of all barriers between nation and nation, and race and race. I cannot conceive of any adequate basis for society other than that which is provided by respect for all men to whatever class they belong. This will result in a reverence for the personality of each one and in a refusal to interfere with his liberty of thought or of action. This should be the rule of your deliberations, that no one should be constrained

by cumulative opinion to act contrary to his own opinion, no one should be interfered with in the exercise of a vocation which is not detrimental to the public good. Reverence yourself and all others as members of the one family of God, and you will be in a position to serve your country aright. Make your own the words of a poem of dedication to the common good, which to my mind sums up the aspirations of all young men and women who are anxious to take their true place in the world.

“Land of our Birth, we pledge to thee
Our love and toil in the years to be ;
When we are grown and take our place,
As men and women with our race.

Father in heaven, who lovest all,
O help Thy children when they call ;
That they may build from age to age,
And undefiled heritage.

Teach us the strength that cannot seek,
By deed or thought, to hurt the weak ;
That, under Thee, we may possess
Man’s strength to succour man’s distress”.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION*

CALCUTTA ROTARY CLUB ADDRESS

1933

The subject which has been assigned to me is sufficiently vague to allow me to say anything whatever about it, and sufficiently broad to make me wonder very much what in the world I am going to say. The phrase "University Education" may be used in a very wide sense. J. M. Barrie, for example, in addressing the students of St. Andrews University a few years ago said that besides the four universities of Scotland there was a fifth University—the "poor proud homes" that many of the students came out of, and he spoke most feelingly of the educative value of these homes. Even when you confine yourself to the more technical use of the term, you find an extraordinarily varied range of application. What is called University education in one country is regarded as mere high school education in another, and the confusion is worse confounded by the differences of opinion as to the purposes which the education is designed to serve.

But I take it that you wish me to speak more particularly about University education in this country. It is not a very popular subject at the present time amongst certain classes of people, not unrepresented in this gathering. Political occurrences of a tragic and deplorable character have made the name of student anathema to the minds of many, and, generalising rapidly, they can hardly bring themselves to speak of the class except in terms of dislike. I wish to make a simple but earnest appeal for calmness and fairness of judgment by reminding you

* A Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on November 14, 1933.

of a logical rule. Because some terrorists have been University students, it does not follow that all University students are terrorists, any more than it follows that because some ships are made of wood, all wooden articles are ships.

Very well then, unfair judgments having been got rid of, what is the next of the difficulties that has to be considered? It is the common allegation that the whole of the educational system, and especially the university system, is a misfit at the present time, doing no good to the country, and involving us in a colossal and wasteful expenditure. I may say, in passing, that the colossal character of the expenditure is often grossly exaggerated, as is immediately obvious when it is compared with other forms of public expenditure at the present time, which I need not particularise. And after all the expenditure is not a burden so much upon those who criticise from the outside as upon the people who benefit,—or as the allegation would suggest, fail to benefit—by it. It comes from the people who are being educated, either indirectly in the form of taxation or directly, and to a far greater extent, in the form of fees, food, clothing and lodging expenses incurred on behalf of the student members of their families.

This does not of course touch the other point of the accusation, *viz.*, that wherever the educational revenue comes from, whether it comes from the people or not, it is a most wasteful form of expenditure, and ought forthwith to be stopped or greatly modified as to its direction. Great stress is laid on the unemployment of graduates. A Government official, not belonging to Bengal, spoke to me the other day of how he had advertised a post at Rs. 30 a month, and found amongst the applicants scores of University graduates. He indicated that he considered this was in itself a condemnation of the whole system. His experience and his opinion are shared by many in mercantile

offices. Now, in the first place the unemployment of educated men is unfortunately by no means confined to India, although it may be worse here than elsewhere. Instances of this maladjustment are all too plentiful in western countries at the present time. But the suggestion that other countries are just as bad or almost as bad, does not solve the problem. The question is,—Is the educational system to blame here and now? It seems to me that to answer with a simple affirmative is to put the cart before the horse. The difficulty is not so much in the educational system as in the economic situation. The fact that Rs. 30 only are offered to many graduates may be just as much a condemnation of our method of distribution of rewards as of the educational preparation of the candidates. In any business office, *e. g.*, may there not be something wrong with the respective shares which the various workers, from the highest to the lowest, get out of the business? Should we not consider this before we right away interpret the smallness of the pay as a condemnation of the educational system? In any case it seems to me to be rather too much to expect a change in educational methods to solve the economic problem, or simply to be disgusted because the present system has not done so up to the present time. Also to suggest that the size of a man's salary should be taken as a test of his educational equipment seems to be a dangerous principle. If it were universally applied, some of us with small salaries might be shown to be academically unutterably stupid.

When we turn to the positive side of the matter we find that the remedy suggested by the critics is that education should be of a less literary character and that it should be more vocational and technical. The knowledge of higher mathematics and philosophy and sanskrit, does not, it is said, fill the family coffers. Let the training be directly related to the work that is

available. Give them the education that will be useful, and stop this waste. Waste, yes, from the point of view of quick returns, but perhaps not waste in the long run. At least do not let us decide the question out of hand. And here again it seems that you are trying to solve an essentially economic problem by a change in educational method. By all means improve your technical education and it will do something. But do not expect it to do everything. It will not make a piece of land which even on the most modern methods can produce only enough food for fifty people, capable of supporting double that number. Your change over to technical education would be an excellent panacea if it were a case of posts waiting until men are trained to fill them. But that is not so. Those turned out of technical training schools find the greatest difficulty in securing employment, and there are many trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the West who can find nothing to do on their return to this country. Now to my mind there is no sadder spectacle than that of the unemployed expert. He has been made ready for only one line and that line is closed to him. He has not the general education which enables him to turn to anything else. He cannot dig, or perhaps, if he is mining engineer, he can do nothing else; and to beg he is ashamed. He is down and out now because he has been tied down at too early a stage in his educational career. And personally if I had to be unemployed I had rather be unemployed with a full mind than an empty one and a university education does at least profess to fill the mind. I should at least have something to think about while I sat about waiting. When the stomach is empty there is no particular advantage in having the mind empty also.

But let us come to grips with this amorphous institution, Calcutta University. In point of numbers it is the largest in the British Empire and the second or third largest in the

whole world. Is it not too big? It is. Far too many get in. For years I have been struggling to get the standard of the Matriculation Examination raised, but without much success. The University patient shows a constant tendency to relapse. Popular opinion seems unfortunately to favour a low Matriculation. During my term in the Vice-Chancellorship, I received an anonymous communication threatening me with death by 31st. December unless I either left the country immediately or raised the percentage of Matriculation passes by 25%. The document was illustrated with a solitary figure in a boat crossing the *kalapani*, and, the period being that of the Simon Commission, it bore at the head the inscription, "Urquhart go back."

But while too many students get into the University, they do not get out so easily with honour or honours; those who continue to the end make much progress. The degree standard of the University is second to none in India, and compares favourably with many other countries. We have on the staffs of the Colleges and on the post-graduate University staff some of the most brilliant men the world possesses in our day. Until recently we had, *e. g.*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir C. V. Raman, whose reputation is world-wide. Scholars seem to gravitate to Calcutta University from all other parts of India, and there are countless products of our University of whom any country might be proud. Think of those who in the past have emerged from this University, leaders in the scientific world like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, leaders in the legal world like Lord Sinha and Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh, and the greatest Vice-Chancellor which India has known, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. And the University has not come to an end of its usefulness.

As I look round amongst my younger colleagues in the University, and as I see the crowds of students issuing each year from its gates, I do not think it at all a vain expectation

that amongst these we may find the future worthy leaders of India. There are many qualities needed at the present time which a true University education can foster—qualities of balanced judgment, accurate information, ethical and social aspiration. I think our University is doing something to meet the need. Even if to the critical the number appears to be too great, he can at least console himself with the thought that the greater the numbers, the greater the chance of the right and necessary men being thrown up to the surface. Do not be impatient for quick returns. Remember that even amidst the hurry of modern life there is time and need for those long years of preparation which may not be the equivalent in time of the period of the training of the *Brahmachari* but may at least reveal something of the same spirit as H. E. the Governor said the other day at the Sanskrit Convocation also: "Unquestionably there is yet room for those who are able and content to pursue knowledge for its own sake, and even for those who are not able or cannot afford to do so there is advantage in the study of branches of knowledge which are not purely utilitarian." There never was more need than at the present time for those who can think quietly and calmly. Perhaps a University Education may help to increase their numbers. Who knows? Stranger things have happened. There can never be too many educated men and women in a country, least of all in India, where not only is the country as a whole crying out for leaders but the villages are waiting to absorb men and women of enlightenment, who will not feel that they will be buried in obscurity but will find in the bringing of light of learning, or medical and sanitary science to the villages both their vocation and their opportunity. What has not many a village and countryside in the west owed to the doctor and the teacher, and these have been University-trained. Similarly the villages of India are waiting for the Universities.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

ALL-BENGAL COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TEACHERS' CONFERENCE
FARIDPUR

1934

It is a great honour to be asked to preside over this—the Ninth Annual Conference of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association, and I thank you for the privilege and opportunity you have given me. This is my second visit to Faridpur. On the first occasion, during my Vice-Chancellorship of the University,—the occupations of a Vice-Chancellor being many and various,—I came to open an Agricultural Exhibition; on this occasion my business is to preside over a College and University Teachers' Conference. I do not know that the occasions are so diverse as at first sight they appear to be. Something of symbolism may be extracted from the coincidence. University teachers ought not to be out of touch with the problems of the rural development of a province where the great majority of the inhabitants are still engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The fact that you are holding your conference in a country town like Faridpur is in itself interesting. I suppose the idea is that the conference should be held biennially, or at least triennially, in one of the mofussil centres, and this is as it should be. It would be a pity if the privileges of discussion and active membership should be confined to the city of Calcutta. There should not be any rivalry between town and country in the matter of College and University education. There are circumstances in which it is better that students should remain in the country, and other circumstances in which

their particular needs are best satisfied by migration to a Calcutta college. Each type of college has its own distinctive contribution to make, and although there may be one or two weak colleges in the mofussil which are serving no useful purpose, it would in general be a thousand pities if the country colleges had, because of economic pressure, to close their doors or greatly limit their activities. A conference such as this should if properly conducted, be inspirational to the local colleges, and especially to this one under whose auspices we are meeting and to whose hospitality we are so greatly indebted. In general it should enable us, both those of us who come from the town, and those of us who work in the country, to pool our experiences to find out on what lines we may respectively develop, and how we may help each other to the greater good of the University as a whole.

In many ways College and University teachers are to-day in a difficult situation. They are attacked on all sides. They are accused of providing opportunities however unwittingly, through the very existence of their institutions, for socially subversive activities. In respect of co-education they are accused of being false to the tradition of their country in encouraging it, or of being incorrigible conservatives in suppressing it. By many, by both friendly and unfriendly critics, they are accused of purveying useless learning, which neither provides daily food nor builds up character, and is therefore useless both for this life and for that which is to come. Some time ago the Students' Union of the Scottish Universities, being in a frivolous mood, passed the resolution that "it would be for the benefit of Scotland if all the Universities were transported to the South Sea Islands," and in more serious vein it is sometimes argued that it would be better for the country if all our universities and colleges were drowned in the Bay of Bengal.

As regards the first point it has on more than one occasion seemed to me necessary to refer to the harm which is done by hasty generalisation, and I do not propose to touch upon that matter now beyond saying that there are hopeful signs that the uselessness of these generalisations is being recognised, and that in any case facts and proportions are open for investigation to those who will give them calm consideration. Incidentally however I might mention that I had occasion recently to reflect upon certain percentages in connection with one large college, and I found that the proportion of students of that college who had come under suspicion, including those who had been merely interrogated, did not amount to more than half-a-dozen per thousand, during the last few years. Still, however small the percentage may be, it ought to disappear entirely, and I think we are all of one mind in intensely desiring total eradication. It does not help us, however, to hear general condemnatory and detrimental statements in regard to our colleges, that there are "snakes in the grass" and so on. We do not close public gardens, otherwise desirable, because it is possible that there may be one or two snakes lurking within. We desire rather to get rid of the snakes so that not one may be left, and it is the duty of all who know the facts of any particular situation to co-operate for the ending of activities which do so much harm to the country as a whole. We desire the absolute cleansing and purification of our academic communities, but not the depreciation of them by generalisations.

In this connection I have been struck recently by a confusion which has arisen through a wrong use of words. It has grown customary in this country, even in the writings of the most reputable journals, to speak of school boys as "students", although, according to the stricter and more authoritative usage of language, the term should be confined to

those who are studying in Colleges or Universities. The consequences of this confusion are many and various. For one thing students are unjustly made responsible for the actions of those who belong to a more juvenile stage. You come across a flaring headline in the newspapers about unruly students, but when you read the paragraph you find that it is entirely concerned with the insubordination or worse of school boys. There are some people who never read more than the headings, and they get wrong impressions. But there are more general consequences of this confusion affecting the mentality of both teachers and taught, and the organisation of our system of education. I would plead very earnestly for a sharper distinction between the school stage and the University stage. In this connection I would urge, as I have often urged before, that we need a very considerable stiffening of the Matriculation Examination. There is another matter to which your attention might very profitably be directed and that is the reaction of the colleges to the new situation which will soon be created by the more general adoption of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in schools. The effect of this, whether for good or for evil, upon the knowledge of English, which will still for a good many years be the medium of instruction in colleges, ought to be very carefully and very seriously considered.

Might I refer also to the effect of the confusion between school and college standards upon the mentality of both teachers and taught in colleges? There are some college teachers who never seem to get rid of what I might describe as the "schoolmaster complex" and who fail to realise that the relation between professors and students ought to be very different from the relation between teachers and school boys. Most disastrous consequences have sometimes arisen through forgetfulness of this difference. Students also, especially in the lower classes of

a college, are often forgetful of the fact that they have passed beyond the stage of school boys, and they conduct themselves in the same irresponsible manner that has been encouraged by the want of discipline in some of the schools from which they have come. I would have every college teacher to lose no opportunity of reminding the students of the dignity and self-respect which is befitting to the college student. He ought to be encouraged to feel that he has become a man and should behave as a man and not as a school boy. Greater quietness e.g. is very desirable within our colleges. One does not expect to have old heads upon young shoulders, but we might at least have more evidence of seniority in respect of the use of the vocal organs, and the diminution of unnecessary shouting and loud speaking in the halls and corridors of our colleges which would be consequent upon a greater sense of dignity on the part of the students, would contribute to the efficiency of our academic work, and to a decorum in later life, the absence of which in public assemblies prevents useful conference and brings them into disrepute.

To turn to another of the topics I mentioned above,—the problem of co-education. This has already been engaging your attention. My attitude to the matter is well-known, and I need not say much about it at the present time. I may simply say that several years' experience of co-education—and by this I do not mean the holding of separate classes at separate times—has convinced me of the value of it under proper supervision, and I am sure that it is a necessary form of the solution of the problem of women's education in present circumstances. It is not a problem which is confined to this country. I recently came across a review of the past fifty years of development in Edinburgh University and I may quote a few sentences relevant to the situation there in 1889, nearly

fifty years ago. "At the outset many strenuous advocates of women's education doubted as to whether curricula designed for men and developed to meet masculine needs were necessarily suited to both sexes. School training had never been identical, so that young men and young women would not have the same preparation for University life. Many of these cautious observers would have preferred the creation of separate Women's Universities or Colleges.....But for such a development time and money would have been needed. The men had the endowments, the buildings, the staff and the equipment. It was obviously simpler to demand a share in what existed than to plan some utopian and distant scheme. The University Commissioners under the Act of 1889 took this view and the demand was granted. The Faculty of Arts was most immediately and fundamentally affected, but it was not the only one to feel the change.....The principle of equality has triumphed all along the line." The situation in Edinburgh fifty years ago is strikingly similar to the situation here to-day, and the effects of co-education which obtains in all the Scottish Universities, have not been disastrous during the last fifty years. Some of the healthy camaraderie of the house, should and does, show up under sympathetic and far-sighted authorities.

Another topic which has been very much to the forefront recently is the relative importance of vocational and general education. Almost every address of an educational character has dealt with this and it occupied much of the attention of those who took part in the last Universities' Conference. Strictly speaking, it is a subject for discussion by those who have to do with the remodelling of High School education, as I consider that the crux of the problem is how to differentiate between those who are suitable or inclined for a University education and those who are not so adapted. But it does concern us

very closely in that it would be exceedingly unfortunate if we conceived University education so narrowly as to put it out of relation to the needs of vocational instruction, or if we thought that the Colleges and Universities had nothing to say upon the economic needs of the country. I think, however, our special duty lies in the direction of showing willingness to be deprived in the colleges of a considerable number of students whom we admit at present both because of financial considerations and because we, in our pride, still think that we are giving the only education worth having. But we have, I think, a positive duty as well, and that is to show that education is wrongly conceived if it is thought to be merely a panacea for economic evils, and to show also that there is a real place for education of a more cultural kind. We are entrusted with the training of the minds of the community, and these minds have to be properly trained both with reference to the engaging in particular pursuits and in reference to the conduct of life as a whole. I think a great deal is lost if a boy begins a technical training too soon, or if he receives *only* a technical training. This would be unfortunate even if he were sure of a post in his particular line when he has completed his curriculum of practical studies. It is doubly unfortunate if he has to search about for an occupation, and perhaps find it in an altogether different direction from that for which he has prepared. Having only a particular training, he is not so well prepared for emergent needs as the student with a more general equipment. And what of his staying power, his power of persistence even if he gets an appointment for which he is specially equipped? Even the best posts have their aspects of monotony, and if they fall below one's expectations or below the young man's often excessively high estimate of his own powers, boredom and lassitude are apt to result. The only preventive of this is the

cultivation of mind and spirit, the provision of mental resources within one's own control wherever we may be placed, the strengthening of the will so that we may be undaunted by the monotony of the succeeding years, the widening of sympathy so that we may find interest in others' and not only in our own concerns, even if these other persons belong to classes other than our own.

It seems to me that if in our concern about the remodelling of our University system we forget this inner factor, we shall be doing a great disservice to the country or at least we shall be failing her in the time of her need. We want modifications of our present system in many ways so that new avenues of employment may be opened up and fuller advantage may be taken of the economic opportunities that at present exist. But more than this we desire the mental and moral and spiritual preparation of those who are being educated. What is the use of opening avenues if you have not trained people to walk in them when they are opened, if they have not acquired that width of outlook which will enable them to understand where they are going, that spirit of sympathy which will prevent them from jostling their neighbours and that steadfastness of character which will carry them steadily onwards even when the sun is hot and the dust is blinding? It is this inner preparation to which I would summon the College and University teachers of the present day. The Colleges can be centres of enlightenment and emancipation, where are trained the minds of those who in the days to come will take the leading place in society. We have in our hands the moulding of the destinies of the future citizens. And yet I think we do not sufficiently realise this. We become pessimistic and we say that because we have no power over state action or the construction of external conditions, therefore we have no function at all. Or we become unduly

optimistic as regards the future, and bank upon everything being done by a change of constitution or a transformation of external conditions.

But it is internal disposition rather than external conditions which matter in the long run, and we can influence these with our Colleges and Universities. We can aim above all at purity of academic motive, being fully determined that we shall not allow differences of race or any other extraneous differences to influence our academic action. Nothing could be more disastrous for a country than the habit of allowing other than academic interests to affect unduly college and university action. If this were to become the persistent procedure, then our educational system instead of forming and guiding public opinion would be dragged miserably and ignominiously at the chariot wheels of party leaders and we might as well close our doors for all the service we shall be able to render to the community.

If we are to keep our ideals high there is an even nearer danger which we must avoid within our colleges and universities, and that is the tendency which is in human nature everywhere to form parties or groups or cliques. In academic circles these seem to grow up with startling rapidity, and unless we are on our guard they poison the academic life. Friendship and association are all very well, but it is a miserable travesty of friendship which leads us to consider academic questions from the point of view of the advantage of our particular group, which leads us to ask, when any proposal is made, 'Who made it, and how will it be viewed by the leader of our group?' This is frequently the canker of public life and we cannot prepare our students effectively for their place in society unless we see to it that it is not the canker also of our colleges and academic life.

These are difficult times, as I have said, for College and University teachers, but I think it is possible to be conscious,

without pride, of the high place we may occupy in the community, and of the opportunities that lie before us. We can continue to occupy that position and to use these opportunities, if we preserve our own self-respect, and refuse to allow our Colleges and Universities to become subservient to extraneous interests. The perfect society is like a work of art, constructed out of unpromising and diverse materials, or it is like a poem wrought out of discordant sounds and discrepant phrases. In our moments of vision we may think of ourselves as the poets and artists of society. And, if looking at ourselves and each other, we sometimes become cynical and incredulous, if in the light of common day the vision fades, let us not allow ourselves to laugh ourselves to scorn. For there is some truth in this idea, that we perhaps as much as, if not more than, any other class, are the moulders of this perfect society of the future of which we dream. We are so more indirectly, than directly, through those who are at present under our care and whom we may influence as to the form of their future life, teaching them to have salt within themselves, resources mental, moral and spiritual, teaching them in their public life to choose wisely between becoming "political invertebrates" and "political cankers", teaching them to keep their ideals high but not to be too impatient about the *tempo* of their fulfilment, teaching them to steer by the fixed stars but not to rock the boat too much in the course of the voyage, and to bide their time when clouds hide the stars for a little. We have a duty both to the immediate future, which may be fulfilled in academic reconstruction and to the more distant future which may be fulfilled in mental and spiritual illumination. If this Conference can aid us in the fulfilment of these duties, it will have served its purpose.

THE LATE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE*

1924

The underlying tragedy of human life was forcibly brought home to us by the fateful happenings of the evening of Sunday, May 25th. A party of University delegates had travelled down together from the Conference at Simla, accompanied by Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the second son of Sir Asutosh. We had heard of the latter's illness, but not in such a way as to cause anxiety, and the request that Sir Nilratan Sircar should break his journey at Patna and visit the patient was taken as betokening a natural desire to have at hand a valued physician and University colleague rather than as signifying any immediate danger. Thus our party broke up in the highest spirits, and those of us who travelled on to Calcutta little knew that the blow had already fallen and that the great leader was no more. Next day Calcutta was a city of mourning, and the widespread signs of sorrow, the vast crowds that assembled in the streets and followed onwards to witness the last sad rites, were evidences how deep was the feeling of the intensity of the loss. One who was worthy to be enrolled amongst the greatest workers of his generation had been taken away, and there were many, very many, who felt that they had lost a personal friend, who had helped them in countless ways and whose passing would leave the world for ever emptier for them.

When I first came to Calcutta twenty-one years ago, I once asked in my ignorance, "Who is Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee, and what is his place in the University?" The reply given even then was, "He *is* the University" and the words acquired

* Reprinted from the Calcutta Review.

depth and significance as the years rolled on, until at the Senate memorial meeting they seemed to form the burden of every speech of remembrance. In comparison with his unique personality and his far-reaching constructive genius it may have seemed at times that other men and other methods hardly received the recognition that their diligence and self-sacrificing labours merited, but even those who stood nearest to him in age and service would have been the first to acknowledge how central was the place he occupied. Like a colossus he did stride the world of our University. With apparent ease he bore burdens under whose weight any ordinary man would have staggered, and his energy seemed tireless and inexhaustible. Our sense of loss is overwhelming in proportion to our appreciation of his greatness. It would be misleading to say that he made no enemies and provoked no criticism, but there can be no doubt whatsoever that in the minds of all with whom he came into contact, criticism, even while it remained criticism, was accompanied by admiration, and in many respects was transformed into sympathetic appreciation and substantial agreement. Sir Asutosh was a vigorous opponent, and occasionally so effectively demolished his opponents that hardly a trace of them remained, but one could not help feeling also that his respect for those who differed from him increased with their capacity to maintain their position. Those who took an opposite side were frequently impressed by his receptivity to new ideas, and by his resolute desire to understand and appreciate another point of view. His highest ideal for the University was not a dull uniformity but that unity in variety in which there is life and growth.

His crowning achievement—the Post-Graduate department—was an expression of his capacity for suggesting a new mental outlook, for creating and combining academic ambitions, and, above all, for inspiring with enthusiasm a band of workers

who would work earnestly in the pursuit of knowledge. He was specially appreciative of the efforts of younger colleagues and one of his most frequent sayings—which the older men did not always relish—was “Give the young men a chance.” They responded to his trust by giving of their best, and not infrequently by the refusal of more lucrative varieties of employment. Their personal devotion to him was unbounded, and was probably unique in the annals of Universities.

And what can be said of his diligence, his unremitting, persistent toil in the interests of the University? While other men slept, he laboured; while other men developed their intellectual interests, he busied himself over the proceedings of committees and boards of studies; while others saw no way out of a mass of difficulties he discovered a solution—and devised a scheme, sometimes dependent for its success upon the forcefulness of his own personality, and sometimes upon a clear vision of academic futures.

For the sake of his University he sacrificed health and leisure, bodily ease and intellectual enjoyment. The best tribute we can pay to his memory will be to carry on his work. This will have to be done by co-operation and organisation, for no one man can carry the burden which he has laid down. The forms of our academic service may change, and our departed leader would have been the last to desire that they should be stereotyped. But, given a firm resolve that no element of value in the legacy which he has left us shall be lost, and given also a retention of that spirit of devotion to the common academic good which he so persistently expressed in his life, there need be no fears as to the future of the University of Calcutta, no apprehensions lest we fail to make progress towards that ideal of the advancement of learning which he had so much at heart.

TO THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA
1930

It is an unusual and perhaps an unprecedented thing for the Syndicate of a University to address an open communication to students who have publicly announced that they intend to commit what is apparently a deliberate breach of College and University order. Such a step as we are taking would have been viewed with utter disapproval by educationists of an earlier date, and may perhaps be severely criticised by some of their successors at the present day. But while normal times may demand normal methods, we are convinced that the present situation is one which calls for other than merely conventional procedure. We, therefore, do not hesitate to appeal directly to you, although a number of you have, in the opinion of some, put yourselves out of court by your public declaration of your contemplated action.

We have deliberately used the word "apparently" because we are convinced that you do not really wish to overturn the academic system, and that it is with the greatest regret that many of you will take the step which you say you are resolved to take. We do not at all regard you as children who are determined at any cost to obtain a lengthened holiday, and we desire to discuss the matter with you as with young men and women who are capable of deliberate and reasoned reflection, but who in their idealism and patriotism, are ready to sacrifice their own immediate interests for the sake of what they conceive to be the common good of their country. We can readily understand that the hearts of many of you are filled with deep and genuine sorrow at what has happened to certain of your countrymen, and that it seems to you unfitting that you should

continue in your ordinary work when so many of your friends and leaders have allowed their ordinary routine to be disturbed and have deliberately placed themselves in situations which have resulted in a restriction of their personal liberty. You claim that it is unseemly that you should be going about your usual avocations in comparative peace and comfort, while they are enduring discomfort in greater or less degree.

In addressing you at this juncture we have not lost sight of any of these considerations, but yet we, who are entrusted with the educational interests associated with the University of Calcutta, have also a duty to perform and we consider that we should be failing in our duty if we did not say to you clearly and unmistakably that, in our opinion, loyalty to the best interests of your country and your University, not to speak of yourselves, demands that you should continue at your work at the present time and steadily prepare yourselves for that future which, whatever its precise form may be, will certainly be one of great responsibility for those who are now the students of Bengal. You remember how Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and there could not have been any more staunch upholder of liberty in connection with the University than he was, appealed to the students not to allow the pursuit of their studies to be disturbed by extra-academic elements, and besought them to wait until they had attained to "that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs which is essential in politics and can be attained only in the battle of life, in the professions and in responsible positions."

Holding with all sympathy the view we cherish in regard to your duty and our own, we are firmly of opinion that the activities of the University in class room and examination hall should be carried on as far as possible in a normal manner, by all means which are consistent with the true spirit of a

University. We are convinced that nothing is to be gained by incomplete expression of or departure from that University spirit, which is, or ought to be, one which manifests itself in calm and deliberate mutual action and in cordial good-will between Faculty and students. We are resolved that University order shall be maintained unimpaired, but we are of opinion that such order, amongst those who have reached the stage of University students, must rest, not upon compulsion, but upon the willingness of students, to be guided by the wisdom conceivably possessed by those who are their seniors in years and the path-finders for them along the ways of learning. As a University, therefore, we desire to make no use—and we would ask the constituent Colleges to make no use,—of any external compelling force for the purpose of maintaining peace within the premises of our Institutions. Neither do we wish to depend upon the pains and penalties which may be supposed to await recalcitrant students. We shall not avail ourselves of methods of coercion, because it is our wish to express the University spirit in a different way.

Correspondingly, we appeal to you to meet us in this attitude which we take up, and we call upon the students of this University who wish to remain outside their Colleges and University classes, also to observe the requirements of the University spirit, and to refrain from exerting any constraint whatsoever upon those of their fellow students who do not agree with them. If they desire, as very many of them sincerely desire, to enter their Colleges, allow them to do so without any interference on your part. This seems to us to be the only procedure which is consistent with true University life, and the only method which will enable us to perform our duty as we conceive it and avoid confusion and catastrophe by the perpetuation of an unseemly and unnatural controversy. Our

duty is to keep the University and the Colleges open for their proper work. Your duty, as we conceive it, in the light of the present situation, is to continue your work as students and thus prepare yourselves in the most effective manner for the service of your country. If you do not agree with us, we appeal to you, at all events, to refrain, in loyalty to the University spirit of liberty and self-determination, from placing any obstacles in the way of those who wish quietly to continue their studies.

Some may say that they definitely wish to press the present situation to a catastrophe, and that no changes have ever been brought about except through crises which have arrested the attention of the world. We believe that there is a better way through reasonable procedure and cordial good-will. It is for the students of Bengal to show that this way is possible within the academic sphere. By calm continuance in their studies they will render an incalculable service in altering for the better the present distressing situation, and will thus show unmistakably they are genuine lovers of their country. This does not in the least mean silence or compromise, but resolute preparation for the time when they will be able to give their fullest contribution to the common good.

On behalf of the Syndicate,

SENATE HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

The 4th July, 1930.

W. S. URQUHART,

*Vice-Chancellor,
Calcutta University.*

RAM MOHAN ROY CENTENARY

1932

It is an honour to be asked to take part in this Centenary celebration of one of the greatest men that India has known. He has been described by Dr. Brojendranath Seal as a "multiple personality", and therefore he requires, even more than most men, to be approached from many different points of view. Perhaps therefore it may be permissible for one who does not belong originally to this country, although he has lived considerably more than half his life within it, to share with you in your tributes of appreciation.

It might indeed be possible for me to claim a specially close association, inasmuch as I represent a College which at the time of its foundation owed much to the assistance and encouragement of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. As is well known, it was he who provided Dr. Alexander Duff with the room in Chitpore Road where his College was first started and who introduced the first five pupils, removing—though not perhaps in a way of which Dr. Duff would have fully approved—their initial prejudices. During the few months of the Rajah's continued residence in Calcutta after the arrival of Dr. Duff he gave constant encouragement to the young missionary, and it is interesting to speculate what the results might have been if their association had been a longer one. Perhaps the religious history of Bengal might have been different if the Rajah had been permitted to return to Calcutta and to renew his friendly co-operation with one to whom at the outset he had been so strongly attracted.

A centenary affords an opportunity of making a pilgrimage in memory and of expressing our reverence. And

in this way we atone for the "persecution and wilful neglect" which some great men may have suffered in their lifetime, and we absolve ourselves also from the accusation of indifference. And if there is any truth in Maeterlinck's beautiful idea that the well-being of the departed depends upon the extent to which their memory is cherished in the hearts of their descendants, who knows but that we may be rendering a positive service to those whom we would honour? At the same time there is danger to ourselves in these pilgrimages of thought if we do not make them in the proper spirit of resolution to profit by them, if we expend in more retrospective sentiment the energy which ought to be devoted to prospective action. In this way, as has been suggested, "we evade our responsibility to those who are immeasurably superior to us by repudiating them" in deeds, however we may honour them in words. In the life of him whom we are commemorating there is to be found an example which will protect us against such a danger, for if there is one characteristic which is outstanding above all others it is that the Rajah, with all his learning and culture, was not an intellectual dilettante, but constantly wedded thought with action to the lasting benefit of his contemporaries and of succeeding generations.

He is worthy of our honour, for of him it has been well said that he "laid the foundation of all the modern movements for the elevation of our people". In virtue of his clearness of mind and activity of spirit he began indeed in revolt, refusing to tolerate superstition or degrading practice. But his revolt was never mere negation. It was the cutting edge of a positive, and destruction was always followed in his thought and practice by reconstruction.

His activity was the outcome of a well-informed and balanced mind. By wide ranging and deep study he had

entered into possession of the religious and philosophic heritage of India. And his interest was not confined to one faith only. His knowledge of Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist and Christian scriptures was profound, and he found truth in them all, evincing a marvellous power of synthesis and escaping from many of the weaknesses of mere eclecticism. His tolerance may have been intellectually unlimited, but practically it was always guided and limited by his respect for the welfare of the individual and by his abhorrence of injustice or of anything that contributed to the degradation of personality. His devotion to study did not result in an attitude of detachment from practical concerns, but on the contrary his ruling motive was an application of spiritual principles to the world in which he lived.

Of the many ways in which he applied his wisdom to religious and social reform it is perhaps unnecessary to speak. They are familiar to us all. He applied his garnered wisdom to the removal of idolatrous practices of a grosser kind, especially to such as were prejudicial to life or morality. His name is especially identified with the campaign against Suttie, and he did much for the furtherance of legislation which made it illegal. He devoted himself to the emancipation of women and to the removal of their legal disabilities in respect of inheritance and other matters. He took a deep interest in the reform of education, opposing the scholastic methods of those who were reverential only towards the old and unreceptive of the new and who showed sometimes in their mental attitude and in their practice that the more learned they became the more ignorant they grew. In a sense he was the precursor of Macaulay in the institution and development of English education, and again it might be interesting to speculate as to how far a continuance of the

influence of the Rajah upon this movement might have modified its onesidedness and abruptness of contrast and hastened that rapprochement between Eastern and Western culture which is now happily increasingly in evidence.

It is the breadth of his reforming enthusiasm which is most of all impressive. His criticism and his sympathy alike were directed towards other countries as well as his own. He was never a believer in the principle, "My country right or wrong". The rights and the wrongs of humanity were for him independent of geographical location. He was a nationalist-internationalist, and freedom of mind and deliverance from oppression were ideals which he cherished for all the peoples of the world. One instance of this was that, as is well known, he took as deep an interest in the passing of the British Reform Bill as if it had had immediate effect upon his own country. He felt indeed that

"Whatever wrong is done

To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun

That wrong is also done to us."

As has been said, "He initiated us into the modern era of world-wide co-operation with humanity".

Above all, religion was the guiding principle of his thought and of his life. Beyond the warring of the creeds he sought for a unity which might bring peace, and the ultimate secret of his love for all humanity was his belief that all men belonged to the family of the one heavenly Father. To a large extent he was influenced by the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ, and one of his most interesting and influential publications was a compilation from the Christian Gospels under the title of "The Principles of Jesus." To a Christian it may seem surprising that he did not draw certain conclusions which seem to us possible and even inevitable, from these

Precepts, and that he was not more ready than was actually the case to assign to Jesus Christ that central place which is given to Him in Christianity. As I have already hinted, it might in this connection be both useful and instructive to indulge in a little historical speculation as to what might have happened if the association between the Rajah and Dr. Duff had continued for six years instead of for six months, or if the Rajah had been born three quarters of a century later. As it was, he was involved in a somewhat profitless controversy with some of the missionaries prior to 1830 who defended the Christian faith by means of categories of thought which nowadays we should not be inclined to use. We hold firmly to the truth underlying the Christian Trinitarian doctrine, but we should express it differently, and it was the rigid form of expression which seems to have constituted the chief obstacle in the mind of the Rajah. Both he and his opponents in controversy were unable to get beyond the associations of the Greek term for "substance" and the Latin term for "person" with all their concrete metaphysical implications, and thus their points of view were needlessly divergent. They felt compelled on the one side to vehement defence of and on the other side to vehement opposition to the idea of "one Substance and three Persons". To the Rajah this savoured of tritheism and was in contradiction to his central doctrine of monotheism. To the orthodox Christians of his day it seemed to be of the very essence of their faith, and thus there was on both sides a misunderstanding of the fundamental truth of Christianity. In the Rajah's time many were driven from a trinitarian to a unitarian position by a misstatement of the Trinitarian position and contrariwise, and for the same reason many failed to reach in the Christian faith what would have been the natural home of their spirits.

We are not nowadays concerned to apportion metaphysical importance carefully between God and Christ as if they were rivals one of the other; and yet this was what the Rajah thought, rightly or wrongly, that the missionaries were attempting to do, whilst he himself was equally concerned to show that Jesus Christ was of lesser metaphysical importance than God.

When nowadays we say of Christ and believe of Him that "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily", we take this to mean that in the incarnate Christ we can discover the character of God in so far as that is related to humanity. We worship God as He is revealed to us in the face of Jesus Christ, and that revelation we consider to be the crowning answer of God to the age-long questing of humanity. Christ is the window through which we look upon God.

And we gladly join with the Rajah in appreciating the value that is in other faiths, in admitting the wonderful unity of the consciousness of God in all humanity, in holding that nowhere has God left Himself without a witness. But we think that there is also another side to the matter, and that here we have to ponder not only upon the marvellously unified searchings of humanity, but also upon the answer of God,—the answer given in the actuality of Christ breaking into the world's history as Immanuel, God with us. No one could have put the question more strikingly, more penetratingly, more comprehensively than Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, and I think he was also waiting for the answer and that he would have heard it more clearly if the voice in which he was invited to listen had been more sympathetic in its tones.

THE ANDREW CARNEGIE CENTENARY

1935

Mr. Gladstone once said to Andrew Carnegie 'Wealth is at present like a monster threatening to swallow up the moral life of man; you by precept and example have been teaching him to disgorge'. These words were addressed by one of the greatest statemen of Britian to one of the leading industrialists of America, and they seem to me to be symbolical of the character of the environment into which Carnegie was born, and of the nature of his contribution to the welfare of that society. Gladstone was a liberal statesman by name and to a certain extent in reality, but in many things we now should call him conservative, having regard 'especially to the fact that he was almost entirely unconscious of many problems which are the subjects of burning controversy to-day. He might be said to have taken the most enlightened course possible within the rigid framework of the political conventions of his day, without taking upon himself the burden of dealing with fundamental problems of the relation of the state to the individual citizen. Similarly, Andrew Carnegie—the centenary of whose birth we are celebrating—might be said to have lived the most serviceable life that was possible and to have made some of the most noteworthy contributions to the welfare of society that have ever been made, without calling in question or attempting to adjust the fundamental relationships between capital and labour. Both he and Gladstone made the best adjustments possible within the existing system without attempting to modify the system itself. At the same time the adjustments which Carnegie made were of far-reaching importance, and were prophetic of many modern

tendencies perhaps more useful to society in the long run than decidedly revolutionary changes are likely to be.

The mention of a monster in the quotation from Mr. Gladstone's speech suggests the famous conflict in mythology between St. George and the Dragon, between a character inspired by righteousness and idealism and an overwhelming external force wholly compact of evil. But in this case Andrew Carnegie's dragon was largely of his own making, rather like Frankenstein's monster than St. George's dragon, and on the whole Carnegie was able to remain on friendly terms with the monster he had made and to effect such an arrangement with it as prevented the destruction of his moral life. He was able to secure that his wealth should be his servant rather than his master.

The story of his acquisition of the immense wealth which he distributed so generously reads like a romance. Andrew Carnegie was born exactly a hundred years ago in a small house in Dunfermline 'of poor but honest parents'. His early life was one of constant struggle with difficulties, and his environment was such as to create a spirit of self-reliance and independence. It was not without significance that he was born under the shadow of the abbey associated with King Robert the Bruce, the warrior king who secured the independence of Scotland, and that in his boyhood William Wallace was his chief hero. The associates of his youth were intensely radical, and he was prepared as it were in anticipation for the democracy of America. A man of long pedigree was for him one, who like the potato, had the most trustful part of his family underground. But for all his practicality he had within him a vein of poetry. The Abbey bell was for him full of tender association. It summed up for him "all he knew of fairly land", and he says of it, 'I could wish to pass into the dear beyond with the tolling of the Abbey bell sounding in my ears, telling

me of the race that had been run, and calling me, as it had called the little flaxen-haired child, for the last time—to sleep”.

His career in America was one of uninterrupted success. He missed no chances, and he put faithful work into all that he did. He says that he has ‘never known a concern to make a decided success that did not do good honest work’. He was able also, he says, ‘to surround himself with men far cleverer than himself’, although an impartial observer might perhaps doubt whether they did indeed surpass him in cleverness. He took advantage of the need for the development of steel manufacture in America, and before many years were over he found himself possessed of colossal wealth. Some humourist has said that ‘the most awful force in nature is a young Scotsman on the make’ and he exemplified that force (without any awfulness!)

He himself divided his life into two parts—one of acquisition and one of distribution. In his youth he was engaged in a desperate struggle to become rich, and in his old age he struggled almost as strenuously to become poor. He found it almost more difficult to distribute than to acquire, but hardly any man has shown more wisdom in his philanthropy. The duty of philanthropy was a matter of conviction; he felt that the people had created the wealth and that to the people it should return, and it was said of him—to quote again from Mr. Gladstone—that he was able to ‘direct rich men into a course more enlightened than they usually follow’.

Although his task was difficult his early attitude and experience were of great use in guiding him. He learnt much from the perfect confidence between himself and his mother, and from the healthy family affection which characterised his home. He had little use for post-dated religiosity, and preferred to think of home as heaven rather than of heaven as home.

His nature was essentially generous, and he says in one of his books 'It counts many times more to do a kindness to a poor working man than to a millionaire who may be able some day to repay the favour'. He went on the principle of giving back what he had got, and because he had when poor received so much benefit from the establishment of a free library, he in later life established about 2800 libraries (including handsome buildings to house them). Because he had at an early stage learnt to work with his hands, he later in life did much for the development of technical education—'handication' instead of 'headication' as he put it.

In his relations with his workmen he early developed the co-operative principle, although he would have nothing to do with the attacks on Capitalism which are so much in favour in modern times. He believed in a sliding scale for the distribution of profits between employers and labour and did all he could to prevent the disastrous consequences of unemployment amongst his work people. He believed that 'no expenditure returned such dividends as the friendship of our workmen'. Although not a University man, he was a sincere believer in the advantages of University education, and amongst his first benefactions was a fund for the providing of pensions for University professors,—a fact which should make his centenary a popular celebration in connection with the University of Calcutta. One of his most princely benefactions was the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, which unfortunately came into existence just after I ceased to be a student, but which in the last thirty-five years has helped to pay the fees of many young men and women in Scotland who could merely declare that they required the assistance. It is a pity that this benefaction could not have been extended to Bengal, but the absence of direct participation should not make

us the less willing to commemorate reverently the good services which this man has rendered to University education in general and indirectly also to University education in India.

Many Scotsmen now holding good positions in India have had their University expenses largely diminished through the help of Andrew Carnegie, and it is to be hoped that they all feel the obligation to pass on to Indian students the benefits they themselves have received.

Perhaps he will be remembered most of all for his services in the cause of peace. He built the Palace of Peace at the Hague, and, describing and thinking of war as 'the foulest blot upon our civilisation' he in many ways encouraged the agencies which make for peace, and endeavoured to build up these friendly relations between the nations which are the security of the world. In many ways he was the precursor of the League of Nations, and in recent days we have been realising that the League has not entirely failed. That it has succeeded to the extent which it has done is largely owing to the example of Andrew Carnegie.

His benefactions amounted to the colossal sum of 350 million dollars: about 70 million pounds sterling. But greater than his benefactions is the example which he set, and if in lesser degree perhaps but still effectively, some other rich men would follow his example, the world would be a better place to live in; and we would not hear so much of the bitter strife between capital and labour. Surely even though we may not sympathise with every detail of his activities, he is worthy of centenary celebrations and where could we celebrate more fittingly than in the International Relations Club of this University, the first of its kind to be founded in India?

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."—ST. JOHN iii. 16.*

This is sometimes said to be the central text of Christianity. It seems to sum up the essence of its teaching, and so to capture the affections of the hearts of men that their wills are brought into unconstrained service. Within the Christian church it is rich with the traditions of the centuries, and is probably the text most frequently quoted by those who wish to present the message of the Gospel to others who have not yet felt its power. It is so sacred a text that one is almost afraid to approach it, and yet perhaps we do not return as often as we ought to do to the centre of our faith.

Christianity is an answer to the questionings of mankind. Too often the stress has been laid on man's search for God, and not often enough upon God's welcome of man. Sometimes we have been so occupied with the difficulties of the search that we have forgotten what we are searching for. We become engrossed in our own thoughts and feelings and make gods out of them, and we forget God, the great Object out beyond us, waiting, ready to receive us if we will only cease from looking inwards at the pictures of our own imagining. And yet it is natural, is it not, to look outwards,—it is what we do first of all in our childhood's experience. I wonder if Christ meant that in the spiritual world we should return to the natural order when he told us that if we would enter into the kingdom of God we must become as little children?

From the beginning of the human race men have indeed been looking outwards to find God, and often the objects which they have called divine have not been worthy. The particular things in nature, the sun, the moon, the stars, the trees and the streams, were not able to give an answer which satisfied

* Sermon preached at Duff Church,

men. The search was disappointing in its results, but still the search went on. Job's cry, "Oh that knew where I might find Him", was still the cry of the human heart. And men felt that behind all the mighty forces of nature, behind all the changes of human life, there was something that remained permanent, unchanging, something that might be called Divine, something with which, or with whom, man might discover some kind of kinship or establish some sort of relationship.

Wrong or inadequate ideas of God were frequently all that the search produced. Men were overwhelmed by the thought of the irresistible power of God, before which the mightiest might of man was but weakness. Or by thoughts of the eternity of God, in comparison with which the years of human life were but as a moment when it is past. "Thou carriest them away as with a flood, and a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday". Or the sense of failure in the religious search almost crushed the spirit of men, and they felt that all they could do was to put their hands upon their mouths and say: 'We know nothing of God, God cannot be found. His nature is so far from ours that we cannot reach unto it. It has no relation to the world. The world is but a dream and God is indifferent to it and to the men who dwell upon it.'

And yet in this world there were emerging certain facts which gave confidence and promise. The lives of men and women were more important than the world in which they lived. There was something in them which was divine, which could not pass away, which partook of the eternity of God. And there were outstanding figures amongst them, great heroes of history, who had cared for and supported their fellows, who had stood for certain ideals of righteousness and truth. Might they not point the way to God? Yet was even this enough? Do not these leaders of the race pass away into forgetfulness?

And the history of the nations, what of it? Nations might rise and fall, but was there confusion every where? Might not some law be discerned, some increasing purpose? Might it not be that God was coming near to men and revealing himself in their affairs. Yet was even this enough. Did not some world catastrophe come to frustrate their hopes.

So the question was put in more and more definite ways—in the utmost reaching out of human aspiration towards God and in dim anticipations of where God might be found. And the answer came. In the fulness of time a Man appeared sent from God. He, Jesus Christ, seemed to gather up in himself all that had been conceived as possible for men to become at their highest, most perfect, most serviceable, most friendly. He seemed to be the climax of the purpose of history, and to throw back a flood of light upon the movement of the centuries towards Himself. And ordinary human beings as they companied with Him began to wonder, to ask questions, to pass from doubt to certainty. The thought grew within them, What if God be like this? What if this be God? what if in this man's presence we may make a sudden change and adopt altogether a new point of view? Let us cease from thinking of man's search for God, and open our hearts to receive the answer. God—the Very God. A stupendous change from the painful search after God to the glad consciousness of God's answer! In this man's presence ordinary men might gain confidence to place themselves in the very presence of God, and begin to think downwards from God to man instead of merely upwards, from man to God. God became not vague imagining, but an absolute certainty.

And in the light of Jesus Christ men might know some thing of the character of God. He was not an overwhelming power making himself known to men only as he crushed them.

He was not a cold abstract indifferent being. He was Love, and He loved the world,—the world in which men and women lived, the world in which you and I live. The message of Christ was that men should have done with dreams and despairings about God, and should cast themselves upon the great, objective, real fact of His love. Then the truest form of religion could arise, for true religion is based upon trust, reverent trust. We rest our souls upon the Fact of Christ, so near to his disciples when He walked upon earth, so near to us now in the power of His spirit; and we find that that Fact is as a window through which we may look upon God, discovering that He also is Love. If we wish to know more of the nature of God in his relation to our human life and our human need, we must live in the presence of Christ, and try to understand something of the secret of His service and of His sacrifice even to the uttermost for his brethren of mankind.

And the conclusion that we reach—not so much by reasoning or argument as by the intuition of our souls—is that God is just like Christ. The same spirit of love abides in Him as was brought into the world by Christ. God was in the world reconciling the world unto himself. He was willing to give himself even to the uttermost—to give of that which was most precious, to give his only-begotten Son. For I take that word “only” to be intended to throw light on the intensity of God’s love for the world of men. It was no mere partial or unimportant aspect of Himself that He expressed in the world through Christ. This revelation came from out the very essence of the nature of God. It was in his deepest nature that He loved the world. There is not something better, something even more precious than this in God—from which something we are shut out. But this love

shown in Christ is of the very essence of God Himself. He gave the most precious thing He had to give—He gave Himself.

It is, I think, a misleading idea to take this phrase “only-begotten” as if it meant that Christ stands isolated from humanity, as if He were an expression of the love and grace of God beyond whom that love and grace could not pass freely to the men and women in the world. He is not a barrier but a channel. He is, rather, the symbol, the sign, the realisation of God’s trust in humanity, the illumination of His purpose for humanity. Christ, besides being the only begotten Son of God, is the first-born amongst many brethren.

So His love reaches down to us all for the saving of our souls, for the health of our spirits. This thought is continued in the remainder of the verse—in the “whosoever” that begins the second part. We are included in this comprehensive word. Let us try to realise it. Let us not leave the great thought of the verse, this central message of Christianity as a vague theory, which has nothing to do with us. We are included, in our particular nature, our particular experiences, our particular needs. To each one of us in this world which God so loves, in this world of our opportunities and our hopes, God can give deliverance from our fears and the gift of the assurance of eternal life.

But this is not only the central text of Christianity for the individual. It is also the great missionary text. Apply it not only particularly but universally. Are we to meet the gift of everlasting life to ourselves, or even to our own nation and race? Surely not! Surely by our sympathy and our prayers, our gifts, perhaps our personal service, we shall help to throw open the gates of life to all mankind.

"Seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you".—ST. MATTHEW vii. 7.*

I wonder why you have come to this Church this morning! Most of you have come from choice—a choice based on varying degrees of earnestness. Some may be almost unconscious of what they are doing, following a custom or practice about which they are thinking so little that it is almost of the nature of a rule imposed upon them from without. Others have come out of curiosity, perhaps some of them never having been present before at a service in a Christian Church and wishing to hear or to see some new thing. Others—I hope the majority—are fully conscious of the opportunities of worship and have come that they may realise more fully the reality and nearness of God—they seek a Presence and pray for a spirit. I should like to think that every one in this Church this morning, without exception, had come here on a spiritual quest, seeking for something—and hoping to find—something that will increase the strength of their souls.

It is the two-fold character of this quest I want to emphasise this morning. All searching is full of purpose. You never search in general; you always search *for* something and with the expectation of finding something. You have a vague notion even of where you will find it; or in other words you expect your environment to answer you in some way. Our searching is a sign that we are alive, for dead inanimate things do not search for anything; and it is also a sign that we are incomplete, desiring something we have not yet got, longing for our completion in some particular direction. But this very sense of incompleteness is an indication that we expect, that we trust in, the completion or the fuller experience. When we have a key put into our hands to use, we expect to find a

* Sermon preached at the Duff Church.

lock into which the key will fit. Searching is always an implicit promise of finding. When Columbus set out to discover America, he did not indeed know that there was such a place as America, and still less did he know where it was, but he did not just wander vaguely over the ocean. He expected to find land in the westerly direction, otherwise he would never have set out. He trusted himself to the ocean in the faith that he would come to something beyond the ocean. He expected an answer to his longing for the discovery of a new country and it was that which gave meaning to his voyaging. He sought because he was convinced that he would find.

Now it is difficult to understand why this principle is not applied more readily and more frequently to religious matters. If all our desires, all our searchings, imply a belief in their success, why should not religious desires be regarded in the same light? It is just here that it seems to me we have one of the strongest proofs of the reality of God. No one takes the trouble to deny the existence of these religious desires of ours. They are found amongst primitive savages in some form or other, and at the other end of the scale the most civilised people, even in the midst of their denials, cherish desires which can only be described as religious. When those who are sceptically inclined often try to make out that religion is merely an imagination or a somewhat unhealthy longing which has done a lot of harm in the world and which we would be better without, they yet spend a lot of their time analysing these longings and imaginations, tracing them to their origin and sometimes thinking that they have thus explained them out existence altogether. But why do they take this trouble if it is not because they cannot really get away from these desires, cannot root them out of human nature? And they never seem to ask plainly the question.—What do these religious

desires imply? Why is it we cannot get rid of them? What do they point towards? What do they suggest as to the Infinite Being whose existence lies round about our narrow finite existence? The seeking at its very beginning implies the finding. Augustine was in the presence of truth when he said "Thou wouldst not seek me if thou hadst not already found me."

Now the first practical counsel that arises from this double principle is that we must make very sure that we *are* seeking. The power of seeking is our human privilege, and we must not lose that power. It is very easy to forget the necessity of this, to sink down comfortably satisfied with things as they are in our own nature or in the world around us. And it would be well to ask ourselves every now and again whether we are satisfied with our present condition. If we are satisfied, we are in great danger. There is always need of a divine discontent. But notice that it must be a *divine* discontent, not an ordinary peevish human discontent. Nothing is worse than constantly feeling discontented with our circumstances and grumbling about our lot in life. The discontent if it is to be helpful must be not with our circumstances but with ourselves; it must arise from the divine element within us, from the contrast between our ideal and that which we have attained, from the consciousness that we have fallen below our best and highest self. It is very possible for us to forget this highest self, to be deaf to the call of God. The writer of the book of Proverbs points this out—in the chapter we read. Divine Wisdom is made to say to the human soul, "I have called and ye refused". Then follows the terrible tragic consequence. Refusal to hear the call of God becomes inability to evoke an answer from God. In one of the sternest sayings of the Old Testament this consequence is set

forth. "Then shall they call upon me but I will not answer ; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me."

There is this possible tragedy in human life, but it is no necessary tragedy. For the soul which has not neglected or misused utterly this power of seeking, it is still meekly and constantly true that seeking is but the nearer side of finding. This is the great secret of God's dealing with human beings. God has made us for himself, and our hearts are restless until they find their rest in him. The restlessness is but the other side of the discovery of that in which we may rest. No man who sets out earnestly on life's deepest quest, who desires to find the supreme value and highest meaning of life, will ever fail in his quest. We have been reading a great deal in the newspapers during the last few days about the Parliament of Religions. The great value of this has been to emphasise the lesson that there is good in every religion, that the duty of the Christian is to search for that good, to bring it to the light of day, and to set it forth for the benefit of mankind. But one of the leading speakers hardly seemed to reach a satisfactory position when he said that 'every man considers his own religion the best for him'. As the *Statesman* pertinently remarked in the leader of yesterday morning, "It is not purely a matter of what we think, but of what goes, what is the truest interpretation of reality, what brings us nearest to an understanding of the reality of God. The Christian position is that the Christian Religion is not merely the best according to our thought, but it is the best because God answers our thought, because, God was actually in Christ revealing the world into himself. For we do not go unaided in the search. God has never left himself without a witness in the hearts of men, and the supreme message of Christianity is just that God has entered

into human life to answer through his love the crying of his children. We are not wandering in the darkness of the night through a wilderness in which there is none to hear us. We are in a world into which God's love has entered. We are making our way—through much darkness indeed—to our Father's house, and afar off we see the light, and we know the welcome that awaits us from the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so it was supremely fitting that Jesus Christ in his teaching of men upon earth, should stress so strikingly and yet so simply this Godward side of human searching, should tell us that above all he had brought to men the assurance that if they seek they shall find, if they knock, it shall be opened unto them.

And some in their searching and their finding under the guidance and with the help of Christ have reached so great a mystic certainty that they have seemed not only to find, but to be found of, God. They have been so astonished at what they have found that they have been lost in wonder, love and praise, and their own little lives seem to have been caught up into and surrounded by the great love of God. Their own knowledge seems to be nothing as compared with God's revelation of himself to them. They are "apprehended" of God. St Paul thus states the supreme desire of the human soul "that I may win Christ and be found him, not having mine own righteousness but the righteousness which is of God by faith".

So the two parts of our text are joined together in the one glowing certainty, The seeking is completed in the finding. We shall never find God unless we seek him, but if we seek him, we shall never fail to find Him.

"But when he saw the multitude, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."—St. MATTHEW ix. 36, 37.

"And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd."—St. MARK vi. 34.*

It is often possible to estimate a man's character and worth by asking, what is his reaction to a crowd in which he finds himself? Is he irritated and indifferent, or is he understanding and sympathetic. If he is a stranger, is he simply antagonised by the noise and confusion, or does he stop to reflect that each person in the crowd is an individual, purposeful being, and that this may be a much-needed holiday, or a very rare—perhaps annual, perhaps even five-yearly—opportunity for expressing enthusiasm or religious devotion. The man who has nothing but contempt for the crowd is himself worthy of contempt.

On the other hand, the men whom humanity has taken to its heart, has revered and even worshipped, have been those who, when brought into contact with the multitude, have been tender-hearted, understanding, non-oppressive and positively helpful. Jesus Christ had none of the coldness or aloofness or or superiority-complex feeling which often characterises the merely intellectual man, who is contemptuous of the capacity of the average man, or the detachment of even the mystic who is absorbed in his own ecstasy, or so occupied in the saving of his own soul that he forgets the needs of the souls of others. He had the width of interest and vividness of imagination which make it possible to break through the barriers which are presented by a crowd,—just as a crowd,—which allow

* Sermon preached at the Duff Church.

of sympathy for the individuals composing it, a sensitiveness to the pathos of humanity represented in a mass of people when one becomes aware even very slightly of the infinite variety, of the hidden needs and aspirations and even tragedy, that may lurk in each individual life.

It seems impossible sometimes to get away from the habit of looking at people simply as an undistinguished crowd, and it needs an effort to place them before us as individuals. A recent writer (Mr. Jaharlal Nehru) says, in reference to the difficulty of bridging the gulfs between different classes and races, "As soon as one begins to think of the other side as a mass or crowd, the human link seems to go. We forget that crowds also consist of individuals, of men and women and children who love and hate and suffer.....Curious how each person judges of the other race, not from the individual with whom he has come in contact, but from the others of whom he knows very little or nothing at all." How easy it is to make general statements, and how futile it is, just because we have failed to get to the point of view from which alone we can form a true opinion. Yet the effort is surely worth our while. How much more interesting a crowd becomes when you begin to study one or two individuals, and what a difference it makes when in a crowd there are already one or two people known to you.

You are travelling in a railway train—what a difference there is between the crowds at the intermediate and foreign stations compared with those on your home platform where you are looking out for friends to meet you.

One of the chief hindrances—especially for an imaginative person—to belief in the fatherly love of God is the almost insuperable difficulty of understanding how God can care for the countless masses of humanity, here, there and all over the world, in the past and in the present and in the future.

One of the chief gifts which Christ brought to men in his revelation of God was just the strengthening of this belief, despite all its difficulty. He taught by his words and his deeds and in his death this particularising, specialising love of God, Not a sparrow can fall to the ground, and even the very hairs of your head are numbered. He encouraged men to think of themselves as entering into the friendship of God with all that this means of intimate confidential relationship and fellowship. He spoke of calling his own sheep by name; and it was no limited world upon which he looked out, for He spoke also of other sheep he must bring into the one fold, thinking through the future to include you and me and all others who are alive along with us at the present time.

It is this aspect of Christ's work for mankind—his compassion for the multitude—upon which I wish that our thoughts could dwell this morning.—the way in which Christ affected men, and became effective for them. We may notice a certain development in his thought. He had just been healing the blind and the dumb and people stricken by all manner of diseases, feeling at this point and at that the utter need and pathos of the individuals that came under his notice. And then there seemed to come into his mind a further and deeper thought that this was not the only service required. It was haphazard, and depended too much on the good fortune of those who happened to come within his notice whereas others equally needy might be standing by helplessly and receiving no attention. Christ was no emotional sentimentalist. He saw that something more, perhaps something more important, was needed. He might heal the individual, and that was well, but a great deal would be lost if that man or woman simply went back into the crowd, confused, hopeless, weary, insignificant, futile, without any purpose in life, without any opportunity of

rising to something better, lost once more and undistinguished in a floating mass of people. It was not sufficient simply to exercise pity for the individual, and then leave him alone. He needed direction and leadership. Something was wrong, utterly wrong, with the society to which he belonged. He needed to be built into, and given his place in, that society. As things were, men and women were just like a crowd of frightened sheep, rushing hither and thither confusedly, and sometimes headlong to destruction. They were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd. Or, varying the illustration, he thought of them, with that poet's mind of his, as like the crops lying out in the field, unprotected from the wind and the rain, waiting helplessly for the reapers to come and gather them into the security of the barn or the usefulness of the threshing floor.

What the people needed above all was leaders, these who would guide them in the way that was best for them, give to them health and opportunity, and make real, and not merely sentimental for them, the guidance and care of God.

The need is the same to-day, even if we express it differently, and in more complex metaphors than those suited to simple society, and think of men as a vast organisation, in which each has his proper place. The need is the same, for those who will direct and plan for others, for those who will think the thoughts of God and interpret them to others, for those who are willing to serve through leadership, so that each person however humble may have care and opportunity and hope.

The Church of Christ forgot terribly in the early middle ages this necessity of leadership, and neglected those who had capacity for thought and gifts of guidance, with the result that confusion and superstition crept into the church, the true message of the Gospel of Christ, the Light of the

world—was lost, and the later centuries were rightly described as the dark ages. There are certain signs of the same tendency to-day, when the tragic needs of the crowds move us to scattered efforts and the dealing out of spiritual doles, and we forget the necessity of sanctified common sense, of educated men in every community who are trained to think, and willing to think, for others. We forget that Christ not only was moved with compassion, but seeing that the reason why they fainted was because they had no shepherds, called for leaders for them. There must be leaders in the Kingdom of God if that Kingdom is to be established on earth. This does not mean any kind of privilege for the few, an exclusive aristocracy. Democracy needs its leaders even more than aristocracy. This might seem a selfish point of view, if we are to think of leadership in terms of pride rather than of service. But surely all true service is just leadership, the giving to others of something you have got, but which they as yet have not got. You can influence others only by leading them, not dominating or acting as dictator, but leading. Doing good to others means helpfulness, and you can help others' need only out of your greater abundance, i.e. by leading them to something which you have and they have not. Thus to become shepherds or leaders is not the privilege of the few only, but the opportunity of all, some in greater degree and some in lesser. The practical question is, What can you, knowing something of Christ, do for those who know him not, what can you do for those who are not so fortunate as yourselves? Each one can answer that question, and as you answer it in the spirit of service you fulfil the mind of Christ.

Surely there is a special appeal to many in this congregation. You are almost all men and women of education

or at least hope to be so, in course of time, some easily, some painfully, some rapidly, some slowly, and you are going out into a world where there are millions who have not had your opportunities. What are you going to do with your equipment? Are you going to use it only for your own advancement, to secure a place for yourselves? Or are you going to remember the words of Christ—his pity for the crowds, and his appeal for shepherds for them. It is true that he speaks of the fewness of those who will lead, but they are few because of our unwillingness, not because of our want of opportunity. "The love of God is broader than the measure of man's mind. And the heart of the Eternal is most wonderfully kind." And this kindness of God is to be made known to men by those who have the spirit of Christ, who Himself not only had compassion on the multitude, but sorrowed over them most of all because they were as sheep having no shepherd. He calls on us to understand that sorrow, to share in it, to lighten it—by leading together into the one fold of God those that are scattered abroad and ready to faint by the way.

Extracts
from the writings
of
MARGARET M. URQUHART





PHOTO BY BOURNE & SHEPHERD.

[A word by way of explanation is, we think, called for in introducing the reader to the following excerpts from Mrs. Urquhart's well-known book *Women of Bengal*.* The book is both critical and appreciative. We have tried to show, within the short space at our disposal, the thoroughness of her study of the life, manners and customs of the Bengali women and her deep insight into the problems affecting them. No one can find fault with her presentation of facts. It shows with what keenness she has tried to understand the women about her. Most of her criticisms are just; and although the Editors have not been able to agree with some of her opinions, they have endeavoured to present the reader with as many of them as possible, irrespective of their own views in the matter.]

We confess it is difficult for one who has not read Mrs. Urquhart's book to form a correct estimate of her deep knowledge of the life and problems of the Bengali women merely from a perusal of the excerpts gathered here. We claim, however, that they give the reader a fair idea of the problems over which Mrs. Urquhart has exercised her mind, and the way she has done it. The excerpts have been taken from every chapter of her book. To the Indian reader they will be of considerable interest as revealing the workings of a European mind face to face with manners, customs and beliefs wholly foreign to it.

Our method has been very simple. We have collected her writings under different paragraphs. To each paragraph an introductory title has been added to give the reader an idea of the subject-matter comprised in it. In this way we have tried to interfere as little as possible with the text. . . . Editors.]

* Published by the Association Press, Calcutta.

INDIAN IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD.

Considerable misunderstanding has arisen in the past through placing her (the Bengali woman) side by side with women of other, especially Western, races, and judging her character and the conditions of her life by means of contrast only. . . . A very different result might have been obtained by measuring her against more ancient standards : Biblical, classical, or mediæval. . . . Indian ideals of womanhood bear a much closer relation to ancient than to modern types, and, although the achievement of a race usually falls far short of its ideals, it is still true that a people may be judged by its heroes and heroines, for by studying these we see the embodiment of its highest conception of character. Indian heroines are second to those of no other race in nobility and grace of character, and they are continually set before the young women of Bengal as objects for veneration and imitation. "Make me a wife like Sitā," is a prayer taught to girls, and Sitā, goddess though she be, makes her appeal, like Sāvitrī and others, by the human qualities of wifely devotion and purity.

OLD VIRTUES STILL PRIZED : SIMPLICITY AND PIETY.

No one can become familiar with the women of Bengal without learning much from the simplicity and piety of their lives. The virtues of the olden time still shine in the ways of many a well-ordered Hindu household, and the Hindus have good cause to be proud of their womenfolk. I should like to offer this book as a tribute to the sweetness and strength that I have found within the walls of Calcutta's homes, and as an expression of gratitude for the happiness that has come to me from the intercourse I have been allowed to enjoy with the dwellers in these homes.

BENGALI'S ATTACHMENT TO BIRTHPLACE.

Attachment to the birthplace of one's forebears is a very powerful sentiment among Bengalis, and explains to some extent the lack of what one might call civic consciousness. Sojourn in a city is regarded by the majority of Indians as a mere temporary arrangement; for their hearts are still rooted in the village of their upbringing and the soil of their native district. The hereditary priests of the family are there, and the sacred symbols and images of worship, without which they cannot keep the great feasts of the Hindu year. . . . The patriarchal roof is thus beloved, not only for reasons of family and kinship, but because it is a place of intimate worship and hallowed religious association.

'DYARCHY' AT HOME : KARTĀ AND GRIHINĪ.

The head of the Bengali household is the oldest male member, the honour descending in the direct line. On his death, his son becomes the *kartā*, or master, even although his uncles may be alive and may be senior members of the same household. The honour is shared by his wife, who controls the feminine side of the household. She is known as the *grihinī*—not "mistress" but simply "housewife"—and is addressed by all members of the household, including the humblest menials, as *mā*—mother. The ideal house-mother fulfils this rôle very perfectly, treating servants like children with a homely kindness and "familiarity"—in the original sense of the word—which are admirable.

INFLUENCE OF THE FAMILY.

To understand Indian life, one must recognize the powerful "pull" that family exercises over individuals. There is no exact

parallel to this in the English life of to-day. Perhaps in Eastern Europe family life is still more patriarchal than in the West, where only a faint ghost of the family, in the classical sense, survives.... The sons in a Bengali family usually inherit an equal portion of their father's property, and it may be that this fact has been the cement in the structure of the *paribār* or group of relations.

FAMILY : "HER FOUR-FOURTHS OF LIFE".

Conduct in respect of family duty may certainly be described as "three-fourths of life" for the orthodox Hindu. For the Hindu woman it is four-fourths. Apart from her place in the family, she has in orthodox society no status, no place as an individual; while, under the ancestral roof she has protection, a clearly defined position and its corresponding prestige. Outside its walls she feels no safer than in a tiger-haunted jungle.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE FAMILY.

The emphasis in the patriarchal group is on the son and son's son. Woman's place is, therefore, of only relative importance. Her function is to make possible, by the bearing of sons, the unbroken carrying on of the sacred family tradition. It is difficult, impossible indeed, to reconcile the supreme importance attached by the Hindu to the birth of a son with the pessimism of the prevailing belief that existence is a curse and that salvation lies in *not* being born to the round of birth and death.

BENGALI WOMAN'S HOSPITALITY.

Hospitality on the occasion of festivals, domestic and religious, is a duty which the Hindu house-mother fulfils not

perfunctorily, but with a grace and readiness that are altogether admirable. Dr. Samuel Johnson, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, describes charmingly the hospitality of the Hebrides. "The guest is received," he says, "as if he had come to confer a benefit." No words could be more apt as a description of the cordial manner of the Hindu lady in her own house. She radiates kindness and, although shy and nervous at times, never fails in giving an unmistakable welcome; for she looks upon it as a duty truly religious to do her utmost for the provision and comfort of her guests.

"HIDDEN TREASURES" IN A BENGALI HOME.

To be greeted by a Bengali woman of the secluded classes on the threshold of her home, is to become aware immediately that India has treasures which she does not display to the common eye, and that here we have found something fine and rare. Her winsome and dignified manner reveals a personality that possesses "quality." And such quality can only be the fruit of a civilization and social culture not yet, perhaps, wholly understood or appreciated by the European. The European cannot be blamed for this lack of understanding, because it is in large measure due to the very fact of the seclusion of Indian women. This seclusion has resulted, among other things, in a great part, and that the better part, of the life of the people being hidden from the foreigner.... When the foreigner is admitted into the Hindu home, he finds himself in an environment which is unfamiliar and often quite unknown to the average European. The chief cause of this difference is the presence of the women, who hold sway in the home. Insight into real family life is only afforded on rare occasions.... This unfamiliarity of one race with the intimate life of the other has bred much mutual misunderstanding and even mutual contempt.

THE BENGALI WOMAN'S NATURAL BEAUTY.

The Bengali woman has a goodly share of natural beauty. In figure and feature she stands comparison with the finest races of the world. The average height is not great, but the graceful proportions of her frame prevent any impression of insignificance on account of her stature. In complexion she is of fairer colour than the southern and western races of India, but darker than the northern. Often within one family and caste one finds different degrees of colour. Under favourable conditions her skin is smooth and clear. Even when her colouring is not of the fairest, the lustre and expressiveness of her fine eyes, and the beauty of white and even teeth light up her face. The features are refined and sometimes of a classical regularity, and, in families where a careful selection of good-looking brides has perfected the type, one sees occasionally young women of rare and fascinating beauty.

HER MANNERS: "GIRLISH ARTLESSNESS" AND NATURAL CHARM.

Too much vivacity, "bounce," and impulsiveness, are considered unbecoming even in a young maiden, and more so in a wife. This standard of quietness is as old as Manu, who says: "One should not be restless with hands and feet, or restless with the eyes." Sometimes the excessive curbing of the natural effervescence of girlhood results in an almost cow-like passivity; and the lack of vigorous motion causes women to grow too stout at an early age. This stoutness, which is very common, and is, no doubt, in part due to climate and diet as well as to the inactive life of the zenana, often changes beautiful girls into plain-looking women. But among Bengalis it is not considered altogether unbecoming in adults to be stout. The modern tennis-playing Indian lady may lose some of the respect of her community, but she preserves her youthful charms

much longer than her secluded sister. . . . The Bengali woman of the bhadra class has attractive and very natural manners, and she possesses the repose which we associate with good breeding. Although shy, she is seldom gauche or ill at ease, even in unusual circumstances. In consequence, she has the power of setting others at their ease, and intercourse with her is cordial and agreeable. Her seclusion from the world has preserved in her a certain girlish artlessness which is very winning, and a first encounter with her is like conversing with a frank and eager child rather than with a sophisticated "grown-up." . . . Trained in the polite reception of guests, the pardā lady would be courteous in any case, but to a European who has taken the trouble to visit her in her home, she gives credit for genuine goodwill, and makes a warm-hearted response to the visitor's overtures. . . . The visitor, having been received, is treated with kindly consideration. If the heat or flies are troublesome, her hostess will ply a fan unwearyingly, inquire anxiously if the guest is comfortable, and offer sweetmeats if it is a first visit. It is considered desirable, both for the honour of the house and the pleasure of the guest, that she should depart "with a sweet mouth." If sweets are refused by the guest, spices are offered in the form of *pān supāri* or simply cloves, cardamums, cinnamon-stick, etc., so that one often nibbles these as one carries on conversation. . . . Those who enjoy this simple, happy intercourse, and experience the pleasure of feeling truly welcome, cannot help asking: Whence comes this air of cheerful tranquility, and how can it be that women, who have so few of the privileges and opportunities which those of other lands count as their right, have still so much to give of the things that cannot be weighed or defined? The chance visitor to a Bengali home has the sense of having discovered a true source of pleasure and enrichment. This has been the writer's own

impression, and others who have been introduced to the world behind the *pardāh*, have expressed themselves as deeply interested and attracted by their glimpse of a hitherto unknown region.

BENGALI'S COLOUR-CONSCIOUSNESS AND "HYPER-SENSITIVENESS".

The people of India imagine that European is always conscious of the colour of his own skin, and they can hardly be persuaded that he rarely gives the matter a thought. They also seem to believe that the European bases a claim to superiority on this ground alone....Bengalis are, for some reason, hyper-sensitive on this point, and frequently, drag the subject into conversation, as if they almost enjoyed being hurt by brooding over it and imagining comtempt where none is felt.

BENGALI WOMAN'S 'ABHIMAN'.

A curious practice of posing as injured by you, the injurer, who should, in consequence, be uncomfortably stirred by compunction and solicitude towards the victim of your alleged unkindness, is often noticeable, in Bengali girls and women—and men too. They admit this trait themselves, and say: "We are a very *abhimāni* i.e. 'touchy', race". I have known a girl use many devices to engineer herself, and the person whose favour she craves into the mutual relation of wounded and wounder. This is not an uncommon weakness of human nature, but it almost amounts to a fine art among Bengalis of the more emotional type, a type which predominates among them. They are past masters at putting you in the wrong, and unless you are on your guard against this peculiar power, you will come to have a very low opinion of yourself, and imagine that you really are incapable of justice—that is, if it is your lot to be closely associated with them in work and in daily life.

BENGALI WOMAN'S WIT AND CONVERSATION.

The Bengali woman is a ready talker, quick, lively, and often witty, with a keen eye for human foibles. To be hilarious is not considered "good form", and there is often a studied dignity, and, in company at least, a restraint almost too great in the manner of a well-bred woman. In the early years of married life a girl is expected to observe silence in the presence of her seniors, unless directly addressed, but, away from them, and with others of her own age, she can be merry enough and delights in banter and repartee. Their wit is more caustic than good-humoured, and their "chaff" apt to be too heavy-handed. They are capable of playfulness, but the depressing influence of climate tends to make sobriety more habitual.

HER "LACK OF NERVE CONTROL".

The instability of temper is partly due to climate. The European in India is all too conscious of this in himself, and has to fight against a tendency to depression, irritation, and, it may be, fury.... It may be that the conventional expletives used by Bengalis are a provision designed to act as a safety valve when a nerve storm threatens an explosion.... The monotony and confinement of the women's lives often result in a lack of nerve control which shows itself in various forms of hysteria. The prevailing tendency to "fits" of despondency, anger, jealousy and sulks makes one wonder if these are not natural to womankind even of normal constitution, and are only held in check, as among English women, by a strong public sentiment of disapproval and an early training that treats "tantrums" of every sort as a punishable offence.

LOVE AND DISCIPLINE OF CHILDREN.

The love of Indian mothers for their children, beginning as it does so often in the years of girlhood, is apt to be doting

and partial. They love their own children passionately, but the love does not always include the other children of the house. This is a fertile source of domestic quarrels. . . . Children thus loved become little tyrants. I have seen a sturdy boy of four years raining blows upon his mother's breast because she tried to resist his demand to be suckled. Usually in the end she gives in to his tyranny, little dreaming how by so doing she lays the seeds of future trouble for herself and him.

BENGALI WOMAN'S MENTAL POWERS: STARVED MINDS.

In spite of the lack of literary education, many of the women in all classes of Bengali society show a great natural intelligence and interest in ideas. . . . The small number of Bengali women who have been educated have shown their mettle and proved their capacity for intellectual cultivation. A race that has produced women like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Taru Dutt has no need to apologise for the intellectual quality of its women; but it has much need to bow its head in shame for the way in which it has starved keen and hungry minds. . . . The emergence in public life of outstanding personalities among Bengali women is rare because of the environment of women generally. At a very early age they find themselves in a position in which their happiness depends on their docility and submissiveness to their new relatives. Respect for the mother-in-law and complaisance of temper have been the chief articles in all they have been taught. Just as they are trained physically to a noiseless gait so that their coming and going in the house shall be as gentle as the fall of a leaf, so, mentally, they are broken into a habit of unobtrusiveness. "Individuality does not command, and never has commanded, such respect in India as it does in the West.

Self-suppression, not self-expression or self-development, is still, as it has always been, the highest ideal of the best Indian minds. . . . Individual initiative, in which the Western world puts its trust, is in India restrained by a multitude of inhibitions."

HER LACK OF INITIATIVE AND FREE CHOICE.

One observes how, among Bengali women, the powers of invention and initiative natural to the human mind become atrophied for want of exercise. The compulsion from without, which is brought to bear upon them at every point implicitly or explicitly, gradually robs them of the power and even the desire of free choice. If a girl is handed about as a chattel when she is too young to protest, but not too young to feel the pangs of separation from the guardians and companions of her childhood; if the functions of wife and mother are ruthlessly demanded of her, when these are not only not voluntarily or gladly exercised, but are a source of fear, and sometimes of acute distress and agony to her, there assuredly takes place a slow but certain damaging of those precious elements of human personality which in truly free peoples flower in strongly marked character and power, both in the individual and the race. If the people of Bengal are lacking in certain of the stronger traits, may it not be because they have heedlessly destroyed these qualities at the springs, in robbing their innocent girls of what should be voluntarily given and never forcibly taken.

HER MANNERS AND HER CHARACTER.

In some respects the Indian woman is peerless, and one would deprecate any change, if such change threatened to diminish her distinguishing graces. Her repose and dignity, quiet, seemly bearing and sweetness of manner, and the simplicity of

her household ways, make her winsome and loveable. But although her manners are much to be admired, and although manners are a part of character, they are not the whole of character nor can they ever be a substitute for character.

EVIL RESULTS OF HER SECLUSION.

One result of her position of subordination frequently noticeable is a lack of serious purpose in her life. She drifts along. Other results, all too evident, are an inability to realize the value of time (an extraordinary amount of time is wasted, according to our notions, in the East), a want of the sense of proportion, lack of fearless rectitude, too much diplomacy, too much intrigue, too much tendency to sacrifice principle in order to gain some private end and win favour with the powers that be, and an absorbing interest in much that is excessively trivial regarding food, personal adornment, and the tittle-tattle and incessant bickerings of a large household. These are indeed the very faults to which woman everywhere is proverbially prone, but they are exaggerated in the life of the *pardānasin*, who cannot breathe the larger air which clears the mind and brain of pettiness.

UNBELIEF IN THE POWERS OF WOMAN.

It is not that the Hindu has not a high standard of chastity for woman, for it is held that by being chaste a woman is protected as by a magic circle from evil, and wields a peculiar power in the presence of danger. A common saying is: "By chastity the poorest woman becomes a queen." It may be a somewhat narrow standard of the "thou shalt not" order, but it has permeated all classes of society. . . . Notwithstanding this ideal and the blameless character of the majority of Hindu married women, there exists among Indians generally a cynical

unbelief in the power of woman to guard her own purity. She must have external guards and recognized guardians, and for this reason, among others, she must be married very young. She is given no chance to develop self-control in this respect, and if she is frail when exposed to danger, it is the system and not herself that must be blamed. . . . Only in a society where men and women are habitually segregated could so morbid a fear of innocent companionship have arisen. . . . A later marriage age would ensure the comradeship of sisters and brothers in early youth, and would accustom fathers to the intimate and affectionate relationship, free from emotionalism, that is possible between a parent and his daughter even in young womanhood. . . . It is difficult to find any justification for the splitting up of society into two classes with a great gulf between, or to discover in what respect India has reaped any benefit from it. The risks of freedom are great, no doubt, but they are as nothing compared with the risks of bondage.

HINDU'S DEVOTION TO HIS MOTHER.

It is a relief to turn from such views of woman to the lofty ideal of filial reverence for the mother expressed and exemplified all over India. "By devotion to his mother he obtains the world," says Manu of the good son, and, in spite of woman's depressed condition, there are not absent elements of grace and beauty in the general thought about her. . . . An Indian speaks of his mother with reverence that one recognises as real. . . . "A teacher surpasses in venerableness ten sub-teachers; a father a hundred teachers; but a mother a thousand fathers." This ancient text is still the motto of the good Hindu and the safeguard of woman's place in Indian society.

BENGALI MARRIAGE TO-DAY.

Bengali marriage nowadays is neither one thing nor another; neither child-marriage nor adult-marriage; but means in many cases the sudden introduction of a self-conscious and trembling girl of thirteen or fourteen to an unknown husband and to all the stern realities of wifehood and maternity—with results that are sometimes a tragedy.

BENGALI WEDDING AND "WEDDING HOUSE".

Another frequent and delightful source of entertainment is a wedding. Certain seasons being regarded as specially auspicious for marriages, every evening at such times sees the streets thronged with wedding processions. They are of a kind to rejoice a child's heart, and reflect also a certain childlikeness in the mind of adult Orientals. . . . A "wedding house", as the scene of the ceremony is called (marriages are performed by the family priest in the bride's home), is open to the public, and the little Hindu girl is an eager spectator of the glories attendant on one of her own age and perhaps an intimate playmate. She not unnaturally looks forward to the day when she may occupy the central place in a similiar scene of splendour. She reckes not of the other side of the picture: the harassing anxieties of the parents who have to find the wherewithal to pay for all this display, and to organise the feasts and hospitalities to a great crowd of wanted and unwanted guests; the ever-present dread of failing in some expected courtesy, or wounding the the highly susceptible *amour propre* of the bridegroom's family.

MOTHER AND SON'S WIFE.

Extraordinary jealousy sometimes exists between a mother and her son's wife, a jealousy not absent from human relations anywhere, but finding in the peculiar social arrangements of the

Hindu world an opportunity (which it does not so readily find elsewhere) to display itself, sometimes in very malignant forms. The relation of mother and son in Hindu society is made more intense because his marriage does not separate him from his home. The common English saying, "my son's my son till he gets him a wife, my daughter's my daughter all my life", might almost be reversed in India, for it is the daughter who becomes like another woman's daughter almost in childhood, when her marriage takes place, whereas the son remains at home and submits to his mother in all domestic matters, not excepting the choice of a wife.... A mother dreads above all things the estrangement under the family roof of a son too much under the influence of his wife, and sets herself by every means to prevent the loss of her hold over him.... On the other hand, a Hindu mother takes great pride in her "*bow*", or daughter-in-law; and to be able to point to a modest, docile and good-looking girl, and say, "my bow," gives her peculiar satisfaction and pleasure, especially if she has chosen the girl herself and been justified in her choice.

BENGALI WOMAN'S CHIEF HAPPINESS—MOTHERHOOD.

The chief source of happiness in the Hindu woman's world, as has been indicated, lies in motherhood. In this sphere alone is she permitted to lead her own life and follow her own natural bent; and whatever hardships may accompany the bearing of the burden of maternity in extreme youth, it still opens for her a realm of innocent joys and pure disinterested spending of herself. One sees many a lovely picture of tender motherhood in the cloistered seclusion of the Bengali home. The desire for children is universal, as is also the love of them, in India.... Love of her son is the ruling passion of the Bengali woman, at least so it would appear to the onlooker.

One cannot probe the secrets of other hearts, but, as far as one can judge from observation, the love of husband, although raised to the level of a religious cult, has not that spontaneous quality of sheer devotion manifest in the relation of mother to son. It is, perhaps, the intensity of this relation that has influenced Hindu religious thought and expression so profoundly. To the Hindu it is the mother aspect of God that calls for his most fervent worship. Says a modern Hindu commentator: "to call the great spirit mother is sweeter, more soul-stirring than anything else." This religious conception reacts upon the common way of life, giving to the name and idea of "mother" a special sweetness and holiness. To conform to the ideal of inexhaustible affection, care and service of the beloved child, summed up in the word, is the ambition of every good Hindu woman.

THE TERM "MOTHER" (*Mā*) IN INDIA.

In India a woman addressed as "mother" knows that she is thereby entitled to consideration and respect. Even little girls are addressed as "*Mā*" and a man need never be at a loss for a respectful form of address to any woman of whatever rank, age or relation to himself, since "*Mā*" is appropriate to all.

BENGALI WOMAN'S CONCERNS AND "WOMEN'S TALK."

The average *pardā* woman in Bengal has few interests, or none at all, save food, clothing and ornaments. The manner of her life shuts her in to these mundane concerns and gives to them an exaggerated importance; and while it is true that woman will almost have ceased to be woman when these topics of daily occurrence and never-ending import no longer interest her, in Western countries she has at least discovered that other important things are possible of attainment even without the

neglect of her chief functions and duties. The majority of zenana women are still quite content to discuss trivial matters continually, and, being deprived of male society, which discourages to some extent exclusively feminine topics, they are shut in to mere "women's talk."

PREPARATION OF FOOD.

Thoughts about food occupy a great place in the Bengali mind. But it is the quality, and method of preparation rather than the amount of variety of their viands, or the pleasure of eating good things, that concern them. As a race they are quite frankly connoisseurs in delicate eating. They talk of certain famous curries and concoctions with glistening eyes.... It may be that the lengthy periods between meals in the East stimulate the longing for and enjoyment of food, while, on the other hand, appetite often fails in the heat and has to be tempted by cunning odours and spices; so that cooking has become a real art and one practised by men and women of all ranks and classes.... No Indian lady thinks it beneath her dignity to cook. It is regarded as an art, and the Hindu housewife prides herself upon her skill. Even when expert Brahman cooks are kept, the ladies like to help in the preparation of the food, and make certain cakes, sweets and confections of fruit, which are the delicacies of the Indian "table".... Rice is prized and even worshipped in Bengal as a form of Lakshmi, the goddess of good fortune and prosperity. Round it, more than any other necessity of life, except water, gather all the caste restrictions regarding food.... To a peace-loving race like the Hindus of Bengal there is satisfaction, no doubt, in partaking of food that necessitates no hunting or slaughter of animals or even risk to human life. The ingredients of the daily meals grow about their doors in garden, orchard and field in abundance at every season.... The common accompaniments

of rice are *dāl* (lentils), mustard oil, and vegetables of the pumpkin or tuber varieties. A kind of large plantain is plentiful and very nourishing. Cabbage, cauliflower and potatoes, of more recent introduction than the others, are prime favourites. . . . The most nourishing and luxurious element in Bengali diet is ghee, or clarified butter. . . . All the products of milk, especially the sweets made from compressed fresh curd and various syrups, are coveted by rich and poor alike as the most nourishing and delicious food available. . . . Butter is eaten by itself, very fresh and mixed with sugar candy. It is also mixed with boiled rice, and occasionally spread on unleavened bread. . . . Bengalis are notoriously fastidious about their food. Many factors have contributed to this sensitiveness, the chief being caste prejudice, and capricious appetite owing to heat and fevers.

THE "SĀRĪ".

Dress does not receive much attention from the Bengali woman after she has passed her earliest years of married life ; nor is vanity about her personal appearance one of her failings. . . . The sārī is a long piece of muslin or silk (about six and a half yards), with a woven edge of black or colour. It is wide enough to reach from waist to ankle. Muslin is the every day material of Bengal. For special occasions a richer material is worn. For the orthodox Bengali woman of every class the simple sārī, skilfully wound and drapped about the figure to form a double petticoat, shawl and veil, is a complete and dignified dress. She wears nothing else, summer and winter, except when she goes out. . . . The sārī is a graceful dress, and it is useless to deny that it is chiefly so when it is the sole garment. Worn by a slender and pretty young woman, it imparts a classic beauty to the lines of the figure. When it covers the head and veils the face of the new bride, it lends

an air of mystery that is attractive and symbolical of the reverence that ought to attach to marriage and motherhood. These veiled ones are like the novitiates in some religious order, or like the Madonnas of early art.... For great occasions nothing but the splendour of silk, so richly interwoven with gold designs as to be almost cloth of gold, is considered fitting. Such dresses are, of course, costly, owing to the fine materials used and the labour involved in producing them. But they are very enduring, and become family heirlooms.... Few households are so impoverished as not to possess one or two specimens of fine hand-weaving.

THE VALUE OF ORNAMENTS.

Every married woman must wear some gold bracelets. To be without any is the universal mark of widowhood. It is by the quality of her ornaments that one guesses the worldly position of a woman. The entire panoply is worn only on the wedding day and other ceremonial occasions. A woman tends to wear less as she becomes elderly, but she must always wear some gold, especially bracelets, while her husband is alive.

BENGALI WOMAN'S RELIGION.

The other day a Hindu lady introduced me to her family shrine, where an image of Nārāyan, or Vishnu, in the form of a round black stone known as the *sūlagrāmā*, was set on a small throne, richly attired in finest silk, gold and gems, with wreaths of flowers festooning his seat.... "Mother", I asked, "what does this worship mean to you? What part do you take in it, and with what feelings do you respond to the acts of the priest?"

The answer was given simply and sincerely: "I bow with folded hands and experience a feeling of devotion to Nārāyan when the priest repeats the sacred formula".

"Then is it to Nārāyan himself, the invisible one, that you feel this devotion, or to this image set here?" asked the visitor.

"I cannot distinguish", she replied, "it is Nārāyan himself we worship; but I love this *mūrti*—the very image itself, familiar to me on its yearly visit to this house since I entered it a bride, about thirty years ago. Yes, I love it like my 'lapchild' [the name given to an infant in arms, the youngest of the family]. When it goes away to the house of our brethren" (It is a family image, which goes the round of a large family in the course of the year), "I feel very sad, and I rejoice when our turn comes again, as if my child had come back to me".

Here was, as far as a mere observer could tell, a genuine emotion of religious joy. It is not easy to determine its spiritual or moral value, but in itself it was a real feeling. And that is what has to be reckoned with: the deep-seated and passionate love of the devout for the actual forms and symbols of his traditional faith and familiar practices. It is easy to dismiss all this as "pitiful superstition", or at best "mere formalism", but giving names to things does not account for their existence. The speaker on this occasion was no rustic ignoramus, but a woman of wealth and birth, who held the kind of position, as head of a large and important household, which develops character and judgment. Yet there was emotional satisfaction, of what is claimed to be a religious kind, in practices that to a maturer religious consciousness would appear mere childishness.

The attitude of this woman is typical. Further illustrations of a similar kind which might be given would only prove that,

for the women at least, orthodox Hindu worship is not mere dead formality, but a thing of genuine belief and devotion.

"WANT OF FAITH" IN THE HINDU INTELLIGENTSIA.

The women, sunk deep in ignorance and pathetic, blind belief although they may be, are at least free from (such) a charge of insincerity and vacillation. And, like the women, the great mass of the people are "joined to their idols" through the simplicity of their unenlightened minds. It is the so-called intelligentsia among the professedly orthodox Hindus whose conduct strikes the onlooker as disingenuous and weekminded. Faith has been ousted, and fear reigns in its stead.

INNOCENT SYMBOLISM—ONE STAGE OF GROWTH.

While alive to the dangers and degrading tendencies of idolatry, of which history gives examples in plenty, any one living among a people for whom ideas thus readily become materialised in symbols, or personified in supernatural beings, can not fail to recognize that much of this symbolism and personification is innocent, and would seem almost inevitable for people at a certain stage of growth. The pity is that the more advanced sections of the race leave the masses without any opportunity to advance from this stage.

HOW HINDUISM PROVIDES RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS FOR THE MASS.

For the illiterate, including women, Hinduism makes some provision of religious instruction in the institution of kathakas, accredited reciters of the sacred epics. These kathakas are invited by Hindus who can afford to pay for them, to conduct readings of the scriptures, sometimes lasting for a month or longer, in their houses.... The householder and his family have the benefit and pleasure of the reading and explanations,

and the neighbours are invited to share in these. In this way, either by hearing or by hearsay, a knowledge of the stories and teachings of the religious epics and Puranas is widely diffused, and the whole speech of the people is coloured by allusions to the story of Rāma and Sitā, the childhood of Krishna, Sāvitri who overcame the power of Yama, the god of death, by her wifely devotion, and others. Certain wandering mendicants also collect alms by singing songs about these sacred heroes and about Dūrga and the god Śiva. Conduct has constant reference to the ideals contained in these stories.

THE "PARADOX" OF HINDUISM.

By some strange paradox, and in direct contradiction, it would seem, to what one might expect from a religion so concrete in its expression, so rigidly conventional in its usages, thought seems to circle continually, not around the visible and familiar objects and elements of worship, but around certain ever-present and all-controlling *ideas*. And, what is more astonishing to the listener, who comes prepared to hear of a bewildering multitudinousness of gods and goddesses, it is of *God* that Hindus, both men and women, both learned and ignorant, speak; saying simply "He", or referring to Him as Paramesvar, the great god, or Paramatma, the great spirit. As Sir T. W. Holderness expresses it: "He may worship many gods, demons, and deified heroes; but he dimly believes that they are part of the great unity. In his actual observances he may be classed as a polytheist, one who has many gods; but mentally he is a pantheist, one who sees God in everything. Sitting under a *pipal* (or 'sacred-fig') tree, the present writer has heard a peasant say, 'Paramesvar (the lord of all) is in this tree; he is in the root; he is in the leaves; he is everywhere in the world' ". . . . "He is one." No saying is more often heard among thoughtful

Bengali women than this, when the subject of modes of worship is referred to; "It is but the ways of approach that differ." Among Hindus themselves the ways are many and varied. From such conversations one gains the impression that even to the women, unversed as they are in Hindu theology or philosophy, the main tendencies of Indian thought have somehow filtered through. It is not easy to discover the channels through which these ideas have entered. There is a mass of vernacular religious literature and oral tradition, familiar to the common folk but little known to the foreign student. These are held lightly as subjects of study by Hindu pandits. Such are the lyrics of Chandi Das, Ramprasad Sen, and many others and all the songs and writings that have gathered round the Chaitanya cult. At a later date the life and teachings of Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Vivekananda have made the *Bhagavad Gita* familiar in a way it had never been to the bulk of the people, and have left echoes that one hears in almost every home.

MYSTIC MEDITATION ON THE "ONE".

The chief longing in all Indian hearts in which a religious craving has awakened, is for undisturbed meditation, for escape from mere duty and the service even of loved ones and the giving of undivided time, attention, love, and adoration to "Him". The preaching of a social gospel to such souls falls on deaf ears. They admit that service—"works"—is one way of pleasing God; but there is no rapture in it...

Worship even at temples is really individual and not congregational. Each is intent upon his own prayer or offering. "Family" religion also has this solitary character. A woman sits alone, telling her beads and breathing the mantra of her secret god, while all around her are the clatter and indifference

of the household. This mood alone—the desire of the mystic for absorbed meditation on the *One*—is recognized as worthy of being counted the highest form of the religious life. Such a belief has been expressed to me again and again, by women as well as men. I have striven, in what I have said above, to derive impressions only from what has actually been said to me by Hindus themselves, not from text-books on Hinduism.

HOW "MAYA" COLOURS LIFE.

In her moments of what she believes to be insight, a Hindu woman pities herself for her absorption in family affection, calling it a net, a snare, an intoxication, an illusion, designed to tie her soul to earth and make impossible that moksha, or escape from re-birth, which she desires, and defeating the aim of all her religious practices.

WIDE-SPREAD CHANGES IN SOCIAL LIFE.

No attempt can be made here to define in detail the wide-spread changes that are determining the social, political, and religious future of India as a whole, but only in so far as these affect women and tend to modify the elements in their domestic and social life that have formed their characters and determined their status and outlook. With all due honour to the best type of Hindu woman, it is doubtful if she is fitted to start on the perilous journey of new adventure on which her country has set forth. And yet she cannot be left behind. The right uses of freedom must be taught her while she is still young and pliable, in the home circle, and at school.

POLITICAL LIFE—A SPUR TO WOMANHOOD OF BENGAL.

Political life in India—a new thing in the East—has acted as a spur to the progress of women's education and

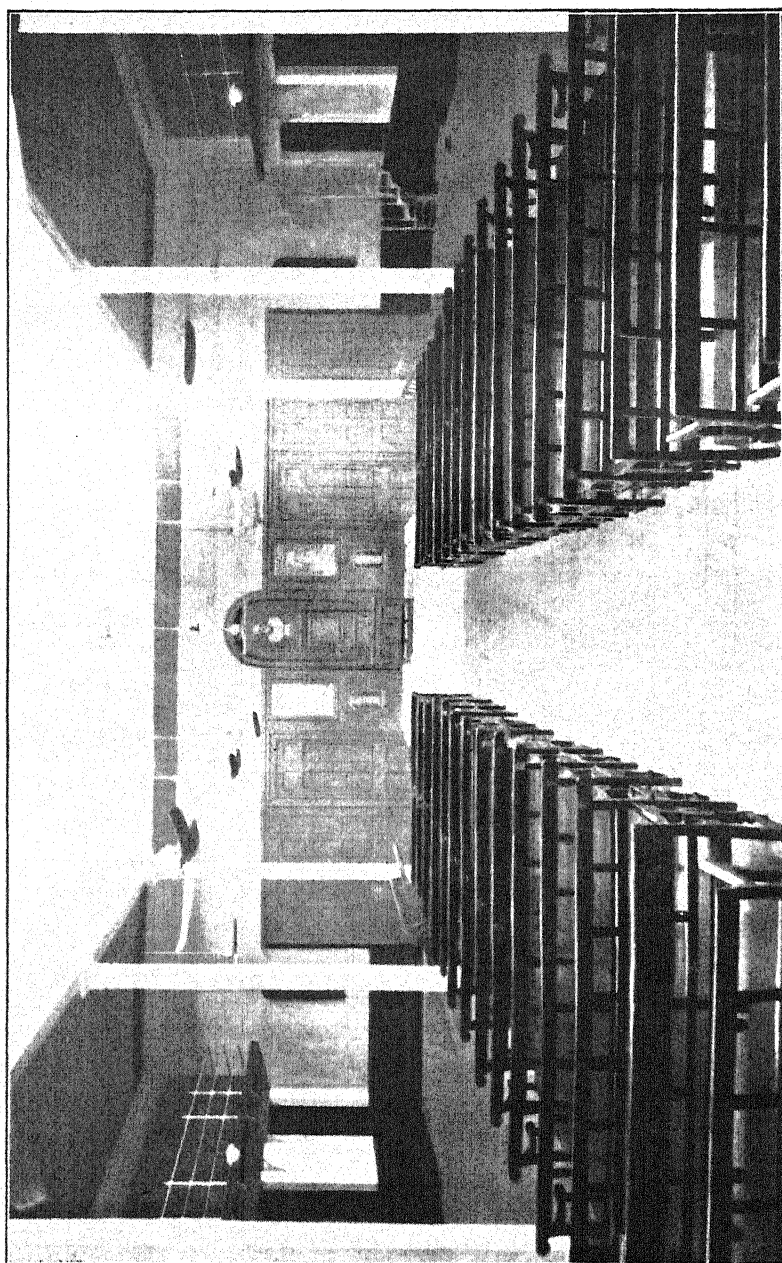
emancipation. The militant suffrage workers of Europe at first shocked Indian sentiment, and seemed to justify a desire to go back to a more rigid insistence on woman's subordination. But the spirited behaviour of English girls and women during the War, in shouldering the tasks of men, stirred a profound sympathy in the hearts of Indian women. And the consequence of militant tactics (although it is claimed that the vote was a reward for the good behaviour of women during the War), the granting of the suffrage to women, has awakened political ambitions among the advance guard of Indian women, who do not seem to relish the thought of their country's being governed by a Parliament which includes women, unless they, too, are to have a voice in the control of legislation.

WANTED CO-OPERATION OF EAST AND WEST IN SOCIAL SERVICE.

Social service is an idea that is beginning to make a strong appeal to young men and women in Asia..... The most vigorous bodies of reform, such as The Servants of India, put social service and not religious teaching in the forefront of their activities. Some of the outstanding personalities in India, like Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Gandhi, have derived their chief inspiration from such movements. This trend towards social service on the part of patriotic Hindus constitutes a ground upon which East and West may form contacts mutually pleasant and beneficial. Such a means is now open to women also. There are various ways in which united service of the community may be made a meeting place for Indian and English women, notably such philanthropic work as Child Welfare. During the War, the co-operation of Indian and European women workers created a new sentiment of mutual trust and respect, and every thing should be done to maintain the happy relations then established.

Such working together is a mutual education and an escape from useless criticism and bitterness. The Indian woman has great capacities for service, but she is not yet accustomed to exercising these outside the circle of her own people. She has, however, caught the vision of a larger range of influence, and in outstanding instances, like the Pandita Ramabai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and others, she has shown initiative and daring, and, better still, patient persistence in work not to be surpassed in the records of the West.

APPRECIATIONS



SCOTTISH CHURCH COLLEGE HALL.

SIR HUGH LANSDOWN STEPHENSON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
CHANCELLOR.

(SPECIAL CONVOCATION)

The 5th August, 1930

This is the second occasion on which I have as Chancellor presided at your Convocation and on both occasions it has been my pleasant task to express on your behalf our sense of the valuable services rendered to the University by the retiring Vice-Chancellor by conferring on him at your request the Degree of Doctor of Law in accordance with the provisions of the Act, which enable the University to bestow this signal mark of honour on those who by reason of eminent position and attainments are deemed fit and proper persons to receive such degrees.

It is unnecessary for me in Calcutta to dilate upon the great services to education generally that Dr. Urquhart has rendered. He is one of a long chain of devoted Scotsmen who for over a century have earned the gratitude of thousands in this country to whom they have brought the lamp of learning and he has proved himself a worthy member of that company that contains such great names as Dr. Miller and Dr. Duff. It was in the Duff College that Dr. Urquhart started 27 years ago as Professor of Philosophy, but my personal acquaintance with his work has been in the Scottish Churches College of which he is now Principal and which is I understand henceforth to be known as the Scottish Church College, in recognition of the happy union of the two great Churches in his home country. But to-day it is his work in the University that is mostly in our minds. He has been a Member of the Syndicate for the last 14 years and has devoted ungrudgingly his time and energies to the service of the University. He has assisted in the work of most of the important Committees of the Senate or Syndicate during a transition period that has been full of anxieties for the University, and he has served also as Dean of the Faculty of Arts. I think perhaps his successors will regard his work for the re-organisation of the University as being his most signal service. He took a leading part in the Re-organisation Committee of

1925 which held no less than 80 meetings; he was then one of a small minority which was unable to subscribe to some of the main recommendations of that Committee. But time has justified him and in the recent Re-organisation Committee, I understand, he has succeeded in convincing the University of the wisdom of much that he stood for in 1925, and it has fallen to him as Vice-Chancellor to prepare the way for the carrying out of these recommendations.

But we cannot be content merely to recite Dr. Urquhart's qualifications as an educationalist. It is largely because of our admiration for his qualities as a man that we are moved to confer this honour upon him. When last year as Chancellor of the Patna University, with the consciousness at a very difficult time in front of our students, I was looking for some one to address the Convocation who could appreciate their difficulties, have sympathy with their aspirations and teach them the true meaning of the highest education as applied to modern life, my choice fell at once on Dr. Urquhart. His sympathy and insight are recognised by all and there is no danger that the independence of his views will ever be misunderstood. He has taken charge of the principalship of his College and he has been Vice-Chancellor at a time which is full of anxiety to all who have the true interests of education at heart; he has met with disappointments that must have pained him deeply but he has still the reward of his devoted labours in the fixed knowledge that he has won the unwavering love and respect of his students and his colleagues. I wish as Chancellor to thank you, Dr. Urquhart, for your unselfish and unsparing labour on behalf of the University. I trust that you may long be spared to help us with your experience and mature wisdom. In the name of the University of Calcutta also I congratulate you on the well-merited distinction which it is now my duty to confer upon you.

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE, ESQ. M.A., B.L., BAR-AT-LAW.

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

Bengal has in the past been the recipient of devoted services from distinguished Western scholars and administrators in various fields of public activity. Not in all cases however have such services been prompted by the sole desire on their part to advance the truest interest of the country of their adoption. In cases where such services have been prompted by a spirit of genuine devotion, not merely in words but in deeds, the warm-hearted people of Bengal have not been slow to remember them with feelings of affection and gratitude. Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart belong to this category of workers. Dr. Urquhart has been a keen and brilliant student of Philosophy, an inspiring teacher, an able and sympathetic principal and a just and broad-minded Vice-Chancellor. In all these spheres he has won fame and distinction and has earned the spontaneous regard and admiration of his friends, colleagues and students. His dominant anxiety at all times has been to merge himself in the work he has undertaken, never to regard himself as an outsider; and to place above everything else the interests of the people he came out to serve. Dr. Urquhart will long be remembered in Bengal as belonging to the best type of Britishers who have served Bengal truly and well.

Bengal will also remember the charm, kindness and sympathy of Mrs. Urquhart who, I believe, has contributed, in no small measure, to the success of Dr. Urquhart's career in this province.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart go back to their country with the best wishes and affections of thousands of Bengalees. May they enjoy health, peace and happiness for many years to come and even from a distance of six thousand miles continue to the last days of their lives as true friends and champions of the great province which has been their home for more than thirty years of their fruitful lives!

SIR HARI SANKER PAUL, KT.

MAYOR OF CALCUTTA.

It is a matter of very great delight to me to be able to seize an opportunity of expressing my sentiments about Dr. W. S. Urquhart the great educationist who is shortly going back to his country after an eventful career in India. Though not having had the privilege of an intimate personal association with him I always cherished a sense of deep respect for his vast erudition highly intellectual flashes of which have brightened up his learned speeches and writings and for his splendid contribution to the cause of higher education in the province. What has attracted his Indian friends, admirers and students so irresistibly towards him has been the fact that they all found in him a kindred soul that could truly understand, appreciate and interpret the Indian mind and culture.

It seems to me but natural that feelings of intense love and cordiality have always marked the relationship between a noble personality like Dr. Urquhart and his students—past and present. Their advancement has always been the nearest to his heart and has been the sole motive force that guided his activities during his long association with the Scottish Church College whether as a Professor or as the Principal. The unbounded confidence of the students in him and the adoration he received from them do rightly indicate the amount of success he achieved as an administrator both as the Principal of his College and as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

I have an extremely pleasant remembrance of the occasions—though few in number—when I enjoyed his company. His was a fascinating personality that commanded respect. Amiability and the true Scottish instinct of sociability made him a loved figure in the social functions he attended. Much of this geniality of temper and the success of his varied activities has undoubtedly been influenced by the love, sympathy, help and co-operation of his dear consort whose heart ever beat in unison with her worthy husband in all noble causes conducive to the cultural advancement of the people of Bengal.

LT.-COL. SIR HASSAN SUHRAWARDY, O.B.E., V.H.S., M.D.,

LL.D., D.SC., F.R.C.S., D.P.H.

Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

I look upon the departure of Dr. Urquhart from Calcutta as a great personal loss, because of the many years of association in work and friendship that I have had with him. I first made the acquaintance of Dr. Urquhart thirty two years ago, when I was on the threshold of my professional career, and recognized in him one of that noble band of selfless workers from Scotland who have come to devote their lives to the service of Bengal. For over 35 years Dr. Urquhart, very capably helped by his talented wife, has rendered conspicuous service in various spheres, academic, social and spiritual, and I shall always look back to the hospitality and kindness I have received at their hands. He and his wife have endeared themselves to all by their affability and charming personality.

When I succeeded Dr. Urquhart as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, I had ample opportunities of realising the tremendous amount of constructive work which he had put in during his term of office, and the difficulties, financial and political, that he had to surmount. It was during his term of office that the important University Re-organization Scheme was initiated which came down to me as a legacy. Calcutta will be the poorer for a distinguished educationist, a disinterested worker, and a sincere friend of the student community.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, KT., M.A., D. LITT.

King George V. Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy,
Calcutta University; Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics,
Oxford.

356A, Woodstock Road,
Oxford.

22nd February 1937.

My dear Banerjee,

Your letter. I know that Dr. Urquhart's retirement from the Principalship of the College and departure from Calcutta will be a great loss not only to the College but to the University and education in Bengal. He has been a great friend to me personally and I rejoice to think that for some years we were colleagues. My very best wishes for his future work and life here.

Mrs. Urquhart has been a friend of Indian women and their progress and her departure will be felt by all progressive women there. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting them here this summer.

Yours sincerely,
S. Radhakrishnan.

SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, KT.

My visit to the Scottish Church College convinced me that Principal Urquhart must in the course of years have done a great work. A keen spirit was very evident as well as a high quality of intelligence.

SIR MANMATHA NATH MUKERJI, KT., M.A., B.L.

Sometime Acting Chief Justice of Bengal ;

Ex-Judge, High Court of Judicature, Calcutta. .

Rev. Dr. William Spence Urquhart, M.A., D.LITT., D.D., D.L. will soon be leaving the shores of India for his distant home in Scotland, the nursery of generations of scholars, philosophers, statesmen and administrators who have given, and are giving, of their very best in the service of India. Among this noble and gifted band of India's friends and wellwishers, who left the far off shores of their hilly country to serve our motherland, no name stands higher in our estimation, no one in the present generation commands a greater respect or a wider admiration, than our eminent friend Dr. William Spence Urquhart. For more than three decades, he has been one of the silent but salient forces for progress, one of those highsouled spirits born not exactly to rule or lord it over but to hold aloft the torch of learning and dispel the encircling gloom of unbelief and ignorance, specially in the present state of educational and political backwardness of India's teeming millions. Intimately, almost indissolubly, connected as he is with the educational movement and academic life of the province, nay of the India of to-day, it is apt to be forgotten that here is a man who, though born and bred in the midst of the aggressive and domineering materialistic civilisation and culture of the West, is none the less a versatile scholar of profound religious faith and piety, who is not simply a leader of men, but a leader of thought, not only a prominent personality in the educational world but a philosopher who has drunk deep at the wells of western and eastern culture and civilisations, and last, but not the least, an able and enthusiastic interpreter of the East to the better minds of the West, one who by his unflinching devotion to the service of India and by his lifework, has unquestionably proved himself to be the best product of the European culture and spirit of service and sacrifice. It is neither the place nor perhaps the occasion to give a full account of, just as it is impossible to do justice to, the various aspects of his life and activities, far less his works on Philosophy and Religion. But a mere glance at his career as an educationist and author will suffice to show the true man in him. After getting his

education in the University of Aberdeen (which conferred on him the Doctorates of Literature and Divinity) Dr. Urquhart came out to India and joined the then Duff College in 1902 and the Scottish Churches College in 1908 as a Professor of Philosophy. He became a member of Indian Universities Congress in 1924 ; the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Calcutta University in 1927 and 1931 ; Chairman, Inter-University Board, India, 1931-32 and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University 1928-30. The following among his works in the domains of philosophy and religion have easily established his eminence as an erudite scholar and philosopher: The Historical and Eternal Christ ; Theosophy and Christian Thought ; Pantheism and the Value of Life ; and, last but not the least, Vedanta and Christian Thought. These and other works of his were appraised at their proper worth by competent persons ; but of the value of his contribution to the "Advancement of Learning" and the promotion of higher education and studies in India and thus to the building up of the renaissance India of to-day and the morrow it will be enough to say, in the words of the Calcutta University Commission, that his was really a continuation of "that powerful Scottish influence which came into Indian education with Duff, and which has ever since been one of the strongest factors in shaping its growth."

In all these activities and works, Dr. Urquhart has been very fortunate in having a willing collaborator and helpmate in Mrs. Urquhart. Her charming personality and unfailing help have sustained him throughout his distinguished career. Gifted with a sympathetic understanding and generous nature, she has really been the presiding angel of his life shining in her pristine sweetness, and adding lustre to the glory he has achieved.

This ancient land of ours has been the meeting ground for the East and the West from time immemorial. Providence has indeed a deeper purpose to serve in this historical process of meeting of the East with the West in India. That in this prolonged process of history continued across the centuries, Humanity is moving towards a closer understanding and a co-mingling of cultures is well illustrated in the life and lifework of men like Dr. Urquhart. And this closer understanding and international fellowship would be meaningless without a truer and fuller appreciation of India's culture and recognition of her unique contribution to the sumtotal of Human Knowledge, and to the extension of frontiers of Truth. Dazzled by the brilliance of her achievements in the domains of science

and intoxicated with the uninterrupted accession of material power and accumulation of possessions, resplendent and regal Europe is apt to scoff at the older civilization and culture of India. The range and depth of India's philosophical speculations and achievements, the strength and stamina of her inner spiritual life, and the glory of her creative soul which is reflected in her representative men from age to age are a sealed book not only to the mass mind of Europe overflowing with restless spirit and power, but also to many of her leading men and women. But thanks to merciful Providence, men like Dr. Urquhart, who really represent the better mind of Europe, have a clearer perspective and a deeper appreciation of the glorious civilization of India and her hoary culture. Amidst the apparent conflict of cultures and clashing of civilizations and self-aggrandisement and sway of the European nations over the countries materially weak which goes against the purpose of History and the Plan of God the rise of the Oriental scholars and savants in Europe and the life and life-work of men like Dr. Urquhart serve to bridge the gulf that, thanks to the untamed and naked selfishness of man, individual and national, threatens to yawn between the East and the West, and antagonises Europe and India. Such a noble life dedicated to the service of Mother India is thrice blessed.

May it please merciful God to spare him many more years of useful life and delightful rest and may it please Him in His infinite mercy to spare our friend to see India rise to her full stature and take her proper place in the comity of nations of the world.

THE VERY REV. J. A. GRAHAM, C.I.E., D.D.

Ex-Moderator of the Church of Scotland,

Honorary Superintendent,

St. Andrew's Colonial Homes, Kalimpong, Bengal.

My first days in Bengal were spent—now just 48 years ago—under the hospitable roof of William Smith, then Principal of the General Assembly's Institution at Cornwallis Square. It was a memorable visit. I got an insight into the aims and methods of a great Missionary College, an admiration for the teachers, and an appreciation of the valuable contribution of such a College to the literary and religious education of young India. All the succeeding Principals have been my close personal friends and their house has been open to me as a home.

The College has developed largely in numbers and status since 1889. Then it had two or three hundred students; now it has fourteen hundred. In 1908 there was consummated the re-union with the Duff College, another great college which had had a separate existence of nearly seventy years. The two were happily fused into the present Scottish Church College. We do not say too much when we claim that the re-united College is one of the foremost Colleges in Bengal and that it never was better than it is to-day.

In the building up of the College, Dr. Urquhart has taken a distinguished part. A like record has been his in the affairs of the Calcutta University. This was splendidly recognised by his appointment as Vice-Chancellor which gave signal proof of the esteem in which he was held. The manner in which he discharged the duties of this high office added to his reputation. By his Philosophical publications he has gained distinction as scholar. His colleagues in the College Council testify to the wisdom with which he has conducted the business side of the organisation, and the students have given many proofs of the admiration and esteem in which they hold him and their deep regret at his departure. Throughout his whole career he has continued to be the same quiet, unassuming and lovable man.

A significant new beginning was made by the College when it opened its doors to lady students, a beginning which has been already

fully justified. This step was made possible because he had in Mrs. Urquhart a wife who had already done fine work as a teacher of Bengalee High School girls, had written a notable book on the Zenana life of Bengal and was recognised as an authority on the subject of female education. In the present session, 130 lady pupils were enrolled. There are lady teachers on the staff and the Hostel for the girls already rivals the splendid Hostels for men.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have lived a strenuous life and they bear the marks of it. They have never spared themselves. While we all deeply regret their departure, we are glad that they will have the chance of a well earned rest and that they have the promise of many years before them of valuable work in their native land. Already we have heard of Dr. Urquhart's appointment to a non-residential lectureship on a subject familiar to him. We take that as a sign that the Scottish Universities recognise his worth and as a presage of further opportunities of useful service.

We shall miss them from India. We wish them every blessing. We shall continue to remember them with affection and gratitude.

REV. JOHN MCKENZIE, M.A., D.D.

Principal, Wilson College, Bombay,

Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.

The name William Spence Urquhart has been familiar to me for many years. It first met my eye when I went to the University of Aberdeen as an undergraduate, for it was writ large, or at any rate writ frequently, in the University Calendar. I remember well how in these days I used to study the Calendar in search of guidance in the planning of my studies, and how I used to turn from contemplation of the task that lay before me to the more pleasing if sometimes discouraging contemplation of what others had achieved. The name of Dr. Urquhart came first to my notice as that of one who had won distinction in his University studies. I knew nothing more of him than this until one evening I happened to visit the Professor of Logic, and I heard him tell with great pride that one of his students, Mr. Urquhart, had been appointed a Professor in the Duff College, Calcutta—the first of his students, he said, to be appointed to a professorship. Between that date and this there lies the whole stretch of years during which Dr. Urquhart has worked in India, giving himself so completely and so richly to the service of her students.

I got to know Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart soon after my arrival in India, and I count it a privilege to have been admitted to their friendship. It is not easy to give expression to all that one feels in one's heart regarding friends, but there is one thing about Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart's friendship which has impressed every one who knows them: it has been a friendship into the full privileges of which many have been admitted. There are goods which in being shared lose their value, and there are perhaps friendships which in being spread are spread thin. Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have been able to open their hearts to a great number and a great variety of people, and to receive from them in return confidence and affection.

Everyone who knows them knows how deep and how strong is their love for India and for India's people. It is this that has led their friends to desire to say something more to them than an affectionate

farewell as they leave India. There are many ways in which this love has shown itself, but it has been manifested not least in their intellectual and literary work. This work has been largely interpretative. It has been directed to the searching out and exhibiting of the best in phases of Indian thought, practice and aspiration. It has been critical for all true appreciation is critical. But it has been inspired by a great love for India and her people, and by a great desire to help them to still higher attainment. Dr. Urquhart's works on Pantheism and on the Upanishads and the Vedanta will continue to rank high as philosophical studies, and they reveal a mind that is possessed not only of intellectual acumen but of living sympathy. Mrs. Urquhart in her brilliant book on the Women of Bengal has shown with what care and with what fine imaginative insight she has studied the life of the women about her.

It is not for me to write of the great services that Dr. Urquhart has rendered to the College and to the University of Calcutta. I would only say that his friends outside Bengal, and they are many, have rejoiced in the knowledge of the great work which he has been able to do, and in the high distinctions which have come to him. All his work has been inspired by the highest Christian ideals, and much of it will abide long after he has left India. We are glad to think that though he and Mrs. Urquhart have spent long years in India they are able to look forward to a retirement in which they will still have a large field of service. We are glad to know that he has already been appointed to an important lectureship in Scotland, and he and Mrs. Urquhart will find many other opportunities of service both in the intellectual and in the practical fields. It is the prayer of all their many friends that this service may be rich and fruitful, and that they may have many happy years before them in which to render it.

REV. DR. J. F. MCFAYDEN, M.A.
Hislop College, Nagpur, Ex-Vice-chancellor,
Nagpur University, Nagpur.

When the request that I should contribute a brief note to the Commemoration Volume reached me, at first it seemed inappropriate that an appreciation from one whose fellowship with Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart has consisted chiefly of the occasional enjoyment of their abounding and gracious hospitality should mingle with those of friends whose contact has been more intimate. Yet perhaps the request was not altogether unjustified. My wife's childhood recollections include a memory of Mrs. Urquhart's mother, "a beautiful and saintly lady"; her friendship with Mrs. Urquhart goes back to the days in Edinburgh before either of them had seen India; and my own happy association with Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart began in Simla before their marriage. After all, no one can take part in the work of higher Christian education in India without learning something of the commanding position Dr. Urquhart has long held in that sphere.

Some Institutions reach a certain standard of excellence and then proceed to live on their reputation; but under Dr. Urquhart the Scottish Church College has gone on from strength to strength, and it is safe to say that, since Dr. Duff's time, its reputation has never been higher than it is to-day. Dr. Urquhart's Principalship has coincided with a period when, in the domain of education and especially of Christian education, the place of axioms was being given to certain theories, some of which had never been seriously examined, and some of which, one fears, would not bear examination. Dr. Urquhart has claimed to exercise the right of independent judgment, and has refused to follow any movement, however strongly backed, which did not appeal to his intelligence.

It is required of the Principal of a great Christian College that he should himself be a scholar, that he should have a clear, alert mind, be a man of rich personality and a Christian gentleman, and not least that he should have the unfailing support of a consort who is a true comrade in all things of the mind and spirit. In Dr. Urquhart these

qualifications have been splendidly combined. One assumes that the Commemoration Volume will be full to overflowing with tributes to Dr. Urquhart for his services to Calcutta University and indeed to the all Universities of India, and to the cause of Christian thought; to Mrs. Urquhart for the trust her colleagues have reposed in her and the strength and wisdom they have found in her, and for her sympathetic insight into the minds of the women of Bengal; while the whole Church of Scotland in India owes her a deep debt of gratitude for the noble and effective way in which she has carried on the work of Dr. MacPhail as editor of "Conference", almost the only concrete symbol of the unity of the Church of Scotland missionaries in India. The influence of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart will be leading many in this land towards all that is good and true, long after they have left India's shores.

WALTER A. JENKINS Esq., D.Sc.

Indian Educational Service, Bengal.

My contacts with Dr. Urquhart's work have been made chiefly in connection with University matters. In the University, as in the College, Dr. Urquhart has rendered great service to the cause of education in Bengal. During his period of Vice-Chancellorship the previously prevalent atmosphere of distrust largely disappeared and an absence of co-operation between the different parties gradually changed to one of useful co-operation making possible valuable constructive re-organisation. In that re-organisation Dr. Urquhart played a prominent part. It was possible to differ from him and yet respect his views and policy. However fiercely arguments raged and however widely divergent might be the views of different members Dr. Urquhart's influence as Chairman of the Organisation Committee ultimately enabled a peaceful solution to be found. His impartiality could never be disputed—indeed some of us at times found it exasperating and his actions were at all times dictated by what he considered to be the best interests of education and of Bengal. His friends and critics may and did differ from him on many occasions but even when differing they knew that he was sincere in his views. This sincerity has revealed itself in his college administration as well as in his University work and has brought him many friends. He is one of those who have proved the possibility of Europeans and Indians working together without prejudice and without animosity in a common cause.

Mrs. Urquhart's departure will be much regretted. She is one of those rare characters of whom no one speaks in any terms save affection and respect. Her good influence and her services in many directions will be long remembered. Any worthy cause was always certain of her sympathy and advice and there are many who will remember with gratitude the help that she gave.

They leave us shortly. Behind them will remain not barren recollections but fruitful memories bringing inspiration and guidance. They will be best rewarded for their labours if the principles which have inspired their lives find living expressions in the actions of those—students, staff and friends—who remain or may follow to carry on the work in the Scottish Church College and in Bengal generally.

DR. H. C. MOOKERJEE, PH. D.

(Head of the Department of English, Calcutta University.)

I have had the privilege of knowing Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart for more years than I care to remember—as a teacher of Philosophy, as the Principal of Scottish Church College, as a Fellow and a Syndic, as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and last but not least as a missionary who has always upheld the teachings of our Lord and Master and the traditions of our faith before his students and the non-Christian public.

As Inspector of Colleges, I visited the different institutions imparting higher education in Bengal and Assam for about 16 years and I think that it may be said with justice that in a large majority of them, Philosophy is taught to-day by his old students. Many of them have grown grey in this work and all speak most enthusiastically not only of his scholarship, the geniality of his temper but what is more of interest he is still taking in them. Even now many of them seek his help whenever they need it, be it for solving a knotty problem in Philosophy, for guidance in their advanced studies or even for bettering their prospects in life.

Dr. Urquhart has won golden opinions as an administrator from all sides. He has secured the respect and affection of his colleagues and students by his tact, impartiality and sympathy. His work as the Principal of the largest missionary college in Bengal and Assam has always been characterised by a happy combination of firmness and kindness. I do not think I am exaggerating when I say that he has been loved almost to idolatry by successive generations of students and teachers.

His success as an administrator was responsible for his appointment as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University at a time when, most unfortunately, things were not going on very well there. It was gratifying to note that during his regime, differences which had previously seemed irreconcilable, disappeared almost automatically. All groups united to make his administration an unqualified success and the work of the University went on smoothly. Among the important schemes inaugurated during his Vice-Chancellorship, may be mentioned those for the

re-organisation of the Post Graduate Department, for the establishment of a Secondary Board of Education and the appointment of a special Committee for drafting a bill for the re-constitution of the University. The far-reaching effects of these schemes when they become accomplished facts can be appreciated only by those who are conversant with the affairs of the University. It was during his term of office that there arose an occasion which showed the stuff of which the man is made. The bold stand he took as Vice-Chancellor of the premier University of India came as a surprise to most of us and endeared him still more to the people of this land. As one who on account of his official position enjoyed exceptional opportunities of gauging public opinion on this matter all over Bengal and Assam, I should like to state that wherever I went and with whomsoever I interchanged views, I came across nothing but profound admiration for the firmness he displayed on this memorable occasion.

It was a source of keen disappointment to almost all that there was no public recognition of his work as Vice-Chancellor. The Calcutta University, however, did what lay in its power to show how highly it appreciated and how greatly it respected the excellence of his work.

Whether as Fellow, as Syndic or as Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart never failed in doing his work fearlessly and conscientiously though occasionally at the expense of temporary loss of popularity. But as every one who knew him, recognised the fact that he was doing what he considered his duty, he always retained the respect of the public.

As a Christian, I can never forget the influence he has exerted on successive generations of students not only by what he said but also by his life and character. We, Indian Christians, value the work he has done for the education of the young men and young women of our community in the Assam and Bengal Christian Council. As an expositor of the Gospel, he has always won the highest possible admiration of our non-Christian brethren by the sweet reasonableness of his attitude, as well as by the lucidity of his exposition of the principles of our faith. I have heard many Christian preachers and teachers, both Indian and foreign, but very rarely have I come across one who could give such a luminous exposition of the cardinal principles of our faith. Many have been born into the Church of Christ not only by his preaching but also by his silent leading of the Christian life. Still larger numbers, how large

no one may estimate, have carried away with them high Christian ideals which are a permanent and a living force in their daily life and work. The proof of this lies in the fact that they send their children to the different educational institutions and hostels controlled by the Scottish Church. They have realised the value of Christian influence in their own lives and desire to have it continued in the lives of their children.

Dr. Urquhart is leaving us soon but we shall always cherish his memory as that of a profound scholar, a successful administrator, a true gentleman and a genuine Christian.

In conclusion it is my duty to refer to the help he has always received from Mrs. Urquhart whose work among Indian women is too well-known to require mention and without whose loyal co-operation and inspiration, it would not have been possible for him to live such a deep impress on the life and thought of educated Bengal. To refer to one fact only while Dr. Urquhart may be regarded as the father of co-education in Bengal, it has to be admitted that the success of this movement is very largely due to the help he has received from his wife. She has been a loyal comrade to him and we shall always remember with gratitude what a gracious hostess she has been to successive generations of friends and acquaintances, young and old. The couple have lived strong and rich Christian lives in an overwhelmingly non-Christian environment and have done perhaps more by it than by the mere preaching of the gospel.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have been a most precious gift to Bengal from the Church of Scotland and that the value of this gift is fully appreciated is proved by the publication of this Commemoration Volume to the success of which both Christians and non-Christians have contributed.

J. R. BANERJEA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.,
Ex-Principal, Vidyasagar College, Calcutta ;
Professor, Calcutta University.

I have known Rev. W. S. Urquhart since 1903, when he came out. His connection with the Scottish Church College (formerly known as Scottish Churches College) has spread its reputation far and wide. He has been known not only as a good teacher but as a thinker. His work on Theosophy and Christianity shows thinking powers of a high order and perhaps is the best work that he has produced. He has been very popular with all sections of the community—Christian and Non-Christian. As Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for two years he worked hard to organise the work of the University in all departments. Besides the many work he had to do as Principal of Scottish Church College the demand on his time and thought necessitated by this work of organisation he met and cheerfully did all that was necessary. The College has been very fortunate in having distinguished men as Principals or Professors, a few of whom only, so far as the European section is concerned, may be mentioned here:—Alexander Duff, William Sinclair Mackay, James Ogilvie, William Hastie and Henry Stephen. Duff was the pioneer and was simply peerless, Mackay was one of the greatest classical scholars that ever came out to India and whose sermons were called English Literature (such was the beauty of his style), Ogilvie was a scholar and brilliant administrator, Hastie and Stephen were great scholars and thinkers. In view of his splendid achievements in various spheres of work, Dr. Urquhart's name deserves to rank with the names mentioned above. In socials, his sparkling wit has contributed much to the success of the functions. I am sure he would like to be known chiefly as a Christian Missionary and in conclusion, therefore, I should say that he has worked hard to spread the knowledge of Him to know whom is to have Life Eternal, Jesus Christ, the Lord and Saviour of men.

RAI BAHADUR H. C. DE, M.A.

The Christian Church in India has wavered between education and evangelisation. To the former, antipathy has been manifested in unexpected quarters. The tree of knowledge so carefully planted and sedulously cultivated by ministers of the church has been pronounced as barren. In "The Contemporary Review for July, 1889, Meredith Townsend boldly declares that he "comprehends fully the arguments that swayed Dr. Duff"; but, out of this full understanding has grown the strange conviction that the "tutor missionaries" have laboured in vain, that vast sums of money have been frittered away on missionary colleges, that such institutions have served merely to mark the great missionary failure.

This primitive ghost has been effectively laid by Dr. Duff and his noble band of followers. As Sir W. W. Hunter rightly points out in the July number of "The Nineteenth Century" (1888), they have rendered invaluable service to the people, and, through them, to the government of our country. In this glorious work of interpreting the west to the east and the east to the west, Dr. Urquhart has had his full share. He has been the intellectual and spiritual link between Europeans and Indians. In his life and through his teaching, he has shown how a truly national work is possible, a work not necessarily of conversion, but of conciliation and concord. Generations of young men have received their first impressions of British character and Christian charity through their living contact with Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart. During his thirty-five years of high-minded devotedness to the cause of culture and enlightenment, Dr. Urquhart has shaped, guided, modified the currents of thought, sympathy and will in his students. He has helped them to grow into sturdy manhood. He has been not only a gifted teacher, one who has been chosen for the calling, but also a great inspirer of youth. He has been furnished with the master-key that opens secret shrines in the hearts of his students. Many a troubled mind many a tumultuous heart have found peace and comfort in his never failing love. The names of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart will long be cherished with affection and gratitude in every educated Bengali home, if for no other reason than this, that they have given a practical

expression of the great truth that man and woman "rise or sink together, dwarfed or God-like" by setting on a permanent footing the system of co-education tentatively introduced into the college by its former principal, Dr. Watt.

Dr. Urquhart is the last representative of the old Free Kirk Institution and Duff College. He is inseparably associated in my mind with my old professors, Dr. Hector, Dr. Stephen, Dr. Watt, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Telfer, Mr. Tomory. How often did I wonder in my old college days what might be in the culture and civilisation of the west which I understood to be dominated by an ignoble love of ease and luxury to have led such distinguished men to live in voluntary exile amongst us and work for our good with untiring zeal and loving enthusiasm. Years afterwards, it dawned on my mind that the dynamics of their personality came from their love of fellowmen. Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have succeeded, in no small measure, in imbuing young men and women with this love and in directing their activities to the channels of social service and social welfare. It must have been a proud moment in their lives when they witnessed the touching scene of the menial staff of the college meeting together to bid them farewell and referring with such emotion to their great love of fellowmen.

"I pray thee then,

"Write me as one that loves his fellow men,"

"The angel wrote and vanished. The next night

"It came again with a great wakening light,

"And show'd the names whom love of God had blessed,

"And Lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest."

REV. G. H. C. ANGUS, M.A., B.D.

Principal, Serampore College, Bengal.

The Christian community in Bengal and Christian Education especially is this year suffering another of those losses that the passing of time inevitably brings, in the retirement of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart after some 35 years of strenuous service in India; and I am grateful for the invitation to add my expression of appreciation and good wishes to the tributes that are being paid by a few in the name of the large number of their friends. Living out at Serampore with comparatively rare visits to Calcutta usually on business I cannot claim that intimate knowledge of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart and their work that closer friends in Calcutta possess; but that has not prevented the formation of certain definite impressions.

In the first place ever since the retirement of Dr. Watt we have looked up to Dr. Urquhart as head of the most influential Christian Arts College in Bengal. If students have flocked to Scottish Church College in ever increasing numbers it was not because all and sundry were admitted. On the contrary the standard for admission was an exacting one, and the attraction of the college lay rather in the good teaching, sound scholarship and high ideals of education for which Dr. Urquhart stood. At the same time high academic qualifications were not the only consideration, and we have often been grateful for the admission of one of our old students, especially for the study of Science whose removal to a Calcutta college was necessary. Dr. Urquhart with his wide experience has always been ready with counsel and advice on occasions when consultation on College matters has been desirable.

Dr. Urquhart was Vice-Chancellor of the University during a period of peculiar stress and difficulty. It was commonly reported, and one may well believe it, that the harmony on the governing boards of the University at the end of his tenure of office was in marked contrast with the less happy spirit prevailing at the beginning. Equally difficult was it to uphold the dignity of the University at a time when a large part of the student body was for throwing off all discipline, and bent on non-co-operation with College and University authorities as well as

with Government. Dr. Urquhart recognised the Government point of view: but he also realised what was passing through students' minds, and it was largely through his sympathetic understanding and tact that normal happy relationships and academic studies were so soon resumed. It was good that the University had a man of such acknowledged high principles as its Head at such a time. Dr. Urquhart has met with much opposition in his educational work especially during recent years, but his patience with those who have differed from him and perseverance in the course that he held to be right have not failed to impress. Among other extra-collegiate activities he has also found time to help for a period as a member of the Serampore Senate and an examiner of Theological papers. Nor are we, as a Theological College, less grateful to him for his scholarly studies in Indian religious thought. He has also been chairman of the Bengal Board of Christian Higher Education ever since its inception following upon the visit of the Lindsay Commission, and has helped to steer that body through its early years.

While education has naturally absorbed the greater of part Dr. Urquhart's time and energy, it has not been to the exclusion of other interests. He has been in great demand as a preacher and speaker and chairman at meetings. He has kept in close touch with the mission work of the Church of Scotland in Bengal, and the visits of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart to stations up country have been eagerly anticipated and greatly enjoyed.

As Dr. Urquhart has given himself to the welfare of the students of Bengal, so has Mrs. Urquhart to the needs of the women; but of her activities it is for others to write. I will only add what a gracious hostess she has been to her visitors, and how often some of us have regretted that reasons of time and distance have prevented a more frequent interchange of visits with Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart to whom we now have to say "goodbye".

DR. S. K. DAS, M.A., P.R.S. PH.D. (London)

Lecturer, Calcutta University.

Happily or unhappily I cannot claim, through the medium of the Scottish Church College, that intimate relationship with Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart which, as a rule, affords opportunities for studying persons at close quarters. This may be in itself a handicap or not; but surely this distance of relationship helps to create that perspective in which we can see men and things in their truer proportions.

Although I was not a student of Dr. Urquhart's in the technical sense of the term, I am happy to testify that, as a colleague of his in the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University for the last sixteen years, I have enjoyed the most cordial friendship with him. In spite of the fact of my being an outsider, I have been, through his generosity mainly, admitted into the happy family circle of the Scottish Church College of which Dr. Urquhart has been so far the great patriarch. On no less than three occasions I was invited to address the Philosophical Society of the College, and there, as elsewhere, it was my esteemed privilege to speak under his presidentship. On other festive occasions, too, I have enjoyed the hospitality of the Scottish Church College, and witnessed, to my surprise, the remarkable solidarity of the College Union functioning through the College Societies of which there are a legion. It is delightful to see how the social side of the College, as embodied in the College Union, realises itself in and through these federating units. In this respect the College has unconsciously imbibed the Scottish instinct of sociability. Not without reasons did Canon Barnett once remark: "I never knew two Scotsmen come together without forming a Society"!

It is neither the place nor the occasion for attempting a critical estimate of his scholarly attainments which will be sufficiently attested by his speeches and addresses in the Commemoration Volume, shortly to be published. One particular trait of his mental equipments, however, deserves special mention. It is his capacity to enter into, and interpret to the world at large, Indian mind as reflected in its age-long

philosophical inheritance. This interpretative faculty appears at its best in one of his latest books, *The Vedanta and Modern Thought*. Herein we have such flashes of luminous insight as will bear quotation in excerpts. "For the Western philosopher", as he writes with the added authority of one schooled in that philosophical tradition, "it is true that our little systems have their day and cease to be" whereas "in the Vedanta, as well as in other Indian philosophies, we may notice a remarkable unity of development more closely knit than in Western philosophy" (*The Vedanta and Modern Thought*, p.9). Nothing serves as a more apt illustration of the case than the analogy of the Indian raga with its structural invariability as conjoined to an infinite variety in composition (*Ibid* p. 10 foot note). As against the standing comparison of the great Samkaracharyya with "the scholastics of Europe" on the score of his "implicit reliance upon authority", Dr. Urquhart has that gift of imaginative sympathy which enables him to observe that Samkaras "subjection to authority is not necessarily inimical to philosophical spirit" inasmuch as this formal authoritarianism is superseded in what he has rightly called "the internalizing of authority" (*Ibid* p. 84). I wish I could quote many more instances of this kind, but the instances quoted are typical ones.

As an administrator and disciplinarian, Dr. Urquhart has come in for diverse estimates, often of a conflicting nature. He has been criticised in certain quarters as being much too 'soft-hearted' and 'popular' to be an efficient administrator—popularity being an euphemism for inefficiency in the dictionary of these disciplinarians. Whatever the resulting estimate, it may be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that he has evinced all along his eventful career a proper sense of values in assigning to discipline its legitimate place in administration. In all his dealings with the students he has clearly demonstrated the courage of his conviction that discipline exists for the sake of students and not the students for the sake of a standardised steel-frame of discipline. Having proved himself, literally, the guide, philosopher and friend of the youth of Bengal, he has earned the love and respect of at least two generations of Indian students who will keep his memory ever green and fragrant. A never-failing friend of youth, indulgent even in its failings and foibles, he has shown how even at sixty one can fraternise with the aspirations of the young minds,—as that

memorable manifesto of his to the students in 1930 will amply vindicate. Here at least was a bid for that "constructive leadership" on which His Excellency laid a justified emphasis in his last Convocation Address the other day.

No eulogium of Dr. Urquhart's life of fruitful service, during the last thirty years, is to be authenticated unless a large share of it is reserved for Margaret M. Urquhart who has proved herself a worthy and meet help for her husband—verily a 'helpmate' in the Scriptural sense of the term. Sharing all his thoughts and deeds, and always standing by her husband in hours of need, she has been that fountain-head of inspiration for his lifelong activities which none but Dr. Urquhart can fully appreciate. To the people of Bengal she has contributed—the very best thing she could possibly offer—her "Women of Bengal" which is a living monument to the power of sympathetic understanding innate in Margaret M. Urquhart. In thus interpreting the much-misunderstood womanhood of Bengal to the world outside, she has thus rendered an invaluable service which deserves to be treasured for all times to come. Herein she had an illustrious compeer in Sister Nivedita of the Rama Krishna-Vivekananda order. But hers was a presentation of Bengal womanhood too idyllic and romantic for daily use. Mrs. Urquhart's "Women of Bengal" is, however, more graphic and realistic, displaying nevertheless the gift of that intellectual sympathy which, as the poet says, 'half-sees, half-creates the thing it loves'!

With a trail of love and affection left behind them, Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart will, we hope, realise on the eve of their departure from this 'land of regrets' that parting is such sweet sorrow, for they do not leave us but live with us ever more!

REV. A. CAMERON, M.A., B.D.

Principal Designate,

Scottish Church College.

Since its foundation over a hundred years ago. The Scottish Church College has had an honourable and fruitful history. It has accomplished much for the abundant life of India and surely merited the renown with which it has been garlanded. Its gifts have been intellectual and spiritual, moulding the minds and characters of thousands of men and women who have sought their training within its walls, and throughout the generations of its history many have shown their gratitude and affection. The chief cause of all this has been the men and women of high resolve and dedicated life, who have brought splendid intellectual gifts and characters made of God and laid them upon the altar of service here. To two such servants we are bidding a very regretful farewell, and in the lengthening annals of the College no names will abide with more praise than those of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart.

The roll of principals of this College contains no name that we cannot honour much and be grateful for; it is a greatly distinguished roll. Too soon we shall be closing the dates of office of the last name on the present roll, and no name shines more brightly, or will in future rolls, than that of Dr. Urquhart. God bestowed on him a fine intellect and he has been a very faithful steward of talents, winning for himself distinction not only in India, where he has spent the greater part of his life, but also in the West, by his scholarship. He has walked in the light of God's presence and thus all God's gifts to him have been dedicated to the service of his students and of the community of men round about him. We have never had a Principal who loved his students more dearly or devoted himself with more constant energy, in the College and University, to their true interests. He has been richly rewarded by those whose rewards are worth cherishing, and most of all by the affection of his students. In all his work, throughout all the hard experiences that inevitably come to one who does his duty unswervingly, he has been splendidly encouraged and helped by Mrs. Urquhart, his wife and comrade over most of the way. She, too,

has freely bestowed her pre-eminent gifts of mind and heart upon young and old in this land, and many to whom her friendship is precious will be sore at heart when the day of parting comes.

To me, personally, the departure of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart is a heavy burden. I have known them for nearly twenty-eight years. Over that long period we have worked together and together shared many joys and sorrows. It is not easy to say farewell at the parting of the ways, but we must face the ordeal. And, as we stand there, looking wistfully after them as they pass beyond the horizon, we shall be filled with gratitude to God for having given them for so long to India, and we shall not forget them and the inspiration of their service.

N. C. RAY. Esq, M.A.

Professor, Scottish Church College;

Fellow of the Calcutta University.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart are retiring to their home in Scotland at the end of the term in April after a strenuous service in this country for over a generation. It is no exaggeration to say that they have been landmarks not only in the history of the Scottish Church College, but in the history of Educational and other activities of this country for over a quarter of a century. I propose to refer to some of their many-sided activities, as it will not be possible for me to refer to them all. I have been associated with them for nearly twenty years and I am thankful to have this privilege of paying my tribute to them in public.

Dr. Urquhart joined the staff of the Free Church of Scotland Institution and Duff College as a Missionary and a Professor of Philosophy in 1902. Six years later in 1908, the General Assembly's Institution and Duff College were amalgamated as the Scottish Churches College and Dr Urquhart joined the staff of the College in the same capacity. In 1916 he was appointed a Fellow of the University of Calcutta and in 1928 he became Principal of the College and also Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. As the name of the College has been changed during his tenure of office as Principal, he is the first Principal of the Scottish Church College.

As is well-known, Dr. Duff founded the College as a Christian College with high ideals, which have been worthily maintained by his successors and Dr. Urquhart has carried on the traditions with unabated zeal and enthusiasm. As a teacher, Dr. Urquhart's work has been of the highest order. Scotland like India has been the home of Philosophers for centuries and hailing from that country Dr. Urquhart has proved himself as the best teacher in the subject in and under the University of Calcutta. For years past this College has turned out the largest number of Honours graduates in Philosophy, many of whom have topped the list of the successful candidates, two being women students. The Philosophy department of the College has been the most successful

and the most popular department under Dr. Urquhart's guidance, and generations of students owe a deep debt of gratitude to him for his teaching. Nor is this all: Dr. Urquhart has been connected with Post-graduate teaching work in Philosophy, formerly at the College, and for many years past at the University, where he is an Hony. Professor. A dozen or a score of gold medalists of the University (M.A. First Class First) in Philosophy have been his students either at the College or at the University, and some of them are holding very high appointments in different parts of India. Surely this is a very high achievement for a teacher.

When Dr. Urquhart joined the Scottish Churches College, there were two hostels attached to it, the Duff and the Dundas. Since then, a new three storied block has been added to Duff and the hostel has been partly reconstructed to make room for St. Andrew's Hostel attached to the Collegiate School. Some additions have been made to Dundas and a new annexe opened and the hostel has been converted into a Women's hostel. Three other hostels—the Ogilvie, the Tomory and the Wann—have been built, equipped and occupied since 1908. For some of these, Dr. Urquhart has been mainly responsible and for the others he took a most active and important part. Another notable achievement during this period has been the acquisition and lay out of the play ground at Maniktola across the canal and Dr. Urquhart was the principal help of the late Dr. Watt in this scheme. Dr. Urquhart, as Principal, planned and executed the erection of the new block attached to the College Buildings and is at present engaged in adding another storey to this block. On the occasion of the Centenary of the College in 1930, which he celebrated fittingly, he raised a fund with which he transformed the College Hall from a gloomy into a bright, cheerful and airy structure.

Two years and a half ago Dr. Urquhart added a new Science department to the College, viz., that of Zoology and opened post-graduate classes (with the generous assistance of the Government of Bengal) for the Degree of Bachelor of Training for Women students. The B. T. department in the short period of its existence has already proved most popular and successful and has more than justified its birth. One of the momentous changes in the administration of the College, the introduction of co-education, was made by the late Dr. Watt

with the active help and co-operation of Dr. Urquhart, and since he became Principal, the women students of the College have enjoyed Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart's special care. It is not the women students only who receive their exclusive care and attention, but they are in *loco parentis* to all students of the College, men and women. Dr. Urquhart is responsible for the organisation of the College Union and he has always extended a paternal protection towards it, sheltering it against the repeated attacks of some of his colleagues.

As Vice-Chancellor of the University, he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties and often spent the whole day in conducting meetings and pouring oil over troubled waters. The work of the Organisation Committee of the University is a monument to his industry, tact, judgment and persuasive eloquence. The institution of Extra-Mural lecturers at the University is an achievement of Dr. Urquhart's connection with the University as a Fellow. The University fittingly recognised his services by conferring on him an Honorary Professorship and a Doctorate. I am betraying no secret when I say that his friends and admirers felt greatly disappointed when his term of office as Vice-Chancellor was not renewed.

It is not for me to refer to the services that Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have rendered to the Church of Scotland Mission in Bengal but I would be failing in my duty if I did not acknowledge the benefit I have personally derived from attending his divine services and listening to his Sermons at Duff Church and elsewhere.

As a writer and a speaker Dr. Urquhart is unrivalled and my countrymen will always remember with gratitude the letter he published in the papers along with some of his missionary colleagues after the slaughter of the innocent and unarmed at Jallianwalla Bagh.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart were married in 1905. Ever since they have been inseparable and it is an open secret that if you draw a circle of a few yards' radius with Mrs. Urquhart as centre you will find Dr. Urquhart within it, and if you draw a circle of a few yards' radius with Dr. Urquhart as centre you are sure to find Mrs. Urquhart within it. It is not too much to say that Dr. Urquhart could not have been so great but for the constant help and care that Mrs. Urquhart bestows upon him. The services of Mrs. Urquhart to the Mission and its institutions have been valuable, almost as valuable as those of her

husband. The Mission Schools for Girls, the North Calcutta Union Hostel for Women Students, the conversion of the Dundas Hostel, the new annexe of the Dundas, and the introduction and fostering of co-education in the College, all owe a great deal to her co-operation and organisation.

When she was raising money for the Duff School she once visited a dingy and a stingy house in Burrabazar for alms. While coming down the stairs after an almost fruitless endeavour, she met a friend and a countryman who asked her what she was doing in that house. On being told, he asked her to wait and then after finishing his business he took her to his office and gave her a cheque for Rs. 5000/- an amount far in excess of what she had expected. She has been a worthy help-mate for her husband. During the troublous days of July 1930, when the boys were in open rebellion, scaling perpendicular walls like cat burglars with the help of rain water pipes and doing wanton mischief and damage, they conceived the novel idea of entering the Science Laboratory by such means. If they had succeeded, no one knows how much mischief they would have committed, with the valuable and costly apparatus and chemicals. But Mrs. Urquhart, who had just turned up from somewhere with her parasol came to our rescue and climbed up and sat upon the ledge above the gasometer, thus preventing the boys climbing by the gas pipe. Some of the boys produced a camera from somewhere and tried to take a photograph of the situation but Mrs. Urquhart quickly unfurled her parasol and sheltered herself in such a way that every one burst into laughter and that saved the Laboratory from the assault of the students.

Such are the persons whose services we are losing shortly and we cannot but feel keenly the prospect of separation.

On behalf of the students, Colleagues, friends and well-wishers of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart I tender to them our hearty good wishes and we all pray to the Almighty Father to grant them long life and peaceful enjoyment of their well-earned leisure. Dr. Urquhart is a true Knight-errant and I say to Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart "Soldiers of Christ, your work has been well done," and no higher credit can be paid to any human being.

MISS W. PLUMBE B.A. (Cantab.)

Secretary, Bengal Mission Council.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have been friends and fellow-missionaries of some of us for half a lifetime.

It was my fortune to arrive in Calcutta as a young missionary on a day when a joint Prize Giving of all our Calcutta Girls' Schools was being held in the presence of a large audience. Arriving in the middle of the performance I was given a seat beside a Miss Macaskill, who warmly expressed the hope that I might live long to work in India. This seems to me typical of her sympathetic understanding of the feelings of others, and of her capacity to fit the right word to the psychological moment.

A year later Dr. Urquhart arrived, impressing us with his combination of youthfulness and academic honours; and soon the name Macaskill was heard no more in the land, but the glory of the name of Urquhart grew!

This is not the place to say much of their helpfulness as fellow-missionaries, of their high standards of work, of the contribution Dr. Urquhart's clear and orderly mind has brought to committee work, and the difference that has often been made by Mrs. Urquhart's sympathetic imagination and sense of responsibility for the situations that arose in mission work and for the people involved in them.

Beyond all that they have both given us a great gift of friendship. Their activities have been singularly little interrupted by illness: they have been able to be here together continuously: my own furloughs have frequently coincided with theirs; so it has come to seem that part of the necessary background of work in Calcutta is the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart, with a "some thing different" about them which will be very greatly missed.

They have helped to make Calcutta a home to many, not only by their generous hospitality, but by the way that through their own deep family loyalties they were able to throw themselves into the family interests of each one of us, and share the joys and griefs that came with letters from home. I write as a fellow-missionary, but know that all kinds of people have found the same quality in their friendship.

To them people are not people in the mass: each is an individual. It is an education to hear Dr. Urquhart speak of this or that student, of last year or of long ago: his impressions are so clear cut that they put to shame one's own hazy remembrance of people: and Mrs Urquhart has the same faculty.

This interest in people has helped to make student's feel at home with them. The women students in particular owe much to their real deep personal interest in each one.

This interest has been particularly shewn in the Bible Classes. For some years Mrs. Urquhart took a Bible Class with the women students in College. Dr. Urquhart's College Bible class has been an important part of his work: and in addition to these the Bible classes carried on by both in connection with Duff Church have been a splendid piece of service for which the rising generation of Christians in Bengal is deeply indebted to them.

Their literary activities are well known. His books appeal to the learned: hers have opened a window through which many have learned to appreciate Bengali home life. Her editorial labours on the paper "Conference" have been long-continued and strenuous.

Outside causes and committees have found them more than generous in time and effort. It is almost true to say of Dr. Urquhart that of leisure he had none: and Mrs. Urquhart spent as strenuous a day as those of us who are bound by a timetable.

Of Dr. Urquhart's main work I have left others to speak, but I must mention the satisfaction it has been to us all that in a wise and acceptable way he has enabled women students to enjoy the advantages of study in the Scottish Church College, and has provided for them a Hostel and a woman member of the professorial staff. The opening of the B. T. Class for women has also been a step in the right direction. In both these ways we hope his work will be followed up.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart's home has always been both a beautiful and a stimulating place. It will be so in Scotland. May they long live to enjoy it!

REV. JOHN KELLAS, M.A.

Professor, Scottish Church College ; Secretary, Collegiate Section,
Bengal Mission Council.

From a Scottish Manse to a Scottish University if I could convey something of what that may mean in respect of a culture and of an attitude to life, I should have done most of what I want to do by this paper. Here is a verse addressed by Lionel Johnson to his own Alma Mater:—

There was beauty, there was grace,
Each place was an holy place;
There the kindly fates allowed
Me, too, room; and made me proud.

'Made me proud'—with the right sort of pride, pride, in the heritage of the past and pride in the opportunity of the present, and the assurance that the Almighty Architect of the Universe (with whom in a Scottish Manse and in a Scottish University one is not on terms of undue familiarity) has given 'me, too, room'—room to think and to work. From such an environment men derive a stability and an assurance, which the instabilities and uncertainties of a less secure world hardly affect: and they are enabled to do something to still the sense of insecurity in others. To turn to the poets again, this is what Thomas Hardy wrote of Aberdeen in 1905:—

I looked; and thought, "She is too gray and cold
To wake the warm enthusiasms of old!"
Till a voice passed: "Behind that granite mien
Lurks the imposing beauty of a queen."
I looked anew; and saw the radiant form
Of Her who stays in stress, who guides in storm;
On the grave influence of whose eyes sublime
Men count for the stability of the time.

This is my tribute to Dr. Urquhart: he is one of those on whom 'men count for the stability of the time.'

Scottish Presbyterianism is one of the most democratic forms of Church Government. Its ministers belong to the people. Yet they are

also separate from the people, by reason of the desire of the people set apart, and given freedom and opportunity to serve. In this environment Dr. Urquhart grew to manhood. He was schooled in the Classics in philosophy and theology, the rigorous discipline of the old curriculum, which laid the foundations of independent and coherent thought. But philosophy in a Scottish Manse cannot long remain apart from the common world of common things. There at least the Queen of the Sciences does not have her dwelling in the clouds. Indeed men like Dr. Urquhart would repudiate as philosophy any mode of thought which does not take into account what is to all men the stuff of life, the crude reality. His stubborn regard for facts derives in part from his native shrewdness, in part from his democratic Scottish training. He learned to see life steadily and see it whole. It is characteristic of him that he is dissatisfied until he discovers the realities behind the names of things. Pretentious names do not deceive him and mere sentimentality does not move him. That is why some people look upon him as a conservative—a strange discovery to those for whom he represents all that is liberal and progressive. There is an idea of progress that it means, change everything: whatever you are doing, stop it and do something else. That sort of revolution usually means, as Chesterton points out somewhere, completing the circle, and returning in the end to where you were before. Not that Dr. Urquhart believes: *Natura non facit saltum*. He has taken part in a number of forward movements in his time and he can look back over a long way by which the institutions with which he is connected have travelled. In one of his addresses he says: "The most ardent admirers of and the most active participators in progress seem so easily to reach the position, immediately after an outstanding success, of asking the question, 'Where do we go from hence? What next?' If the question cannot be answered, the futility of all the movement which has brought them to that position is exhibited." It is one of the secrets of his strength that he always knows by what way he has come, and where he is going from hence. He believes in what he is doing. His thinking is what is sometimes called to-day 'existential thinking', coherent with his action, where the whole energy of his nature is thrown after his thought. His is an unusual combination of the thinker and the practical man, the administrator. It would be vain to try to assess here his contribution to theology in India but that remains to be done. With Heiler he has summoned Christian

thinking to 'theological labour on a gigantic scale, which shall link the fullness of the Christian revelation with the religious and philosophical possessions of India'. He believes in the Christian Colleges. What he has done for education through years of unremitting devotion could not have been done by a man of casual enthusiasms and imperfect conviction. The Union of the Calcutta Colleges in 1908, the organisation of Calcutta University, the direction of a great College in times of extraordinary emotional and intellectual disturbance, leadership in the affairs of the Church—for just such things we honour him. The immediate task he is handing on to others. In this book we are telling him that we are the stronger because of him.

HARIDAS BHATTACHARYYA, ESQ., M.A., P.R.S.

(Head of the Department of Philosophy ; Dean of the Faculty of Arts,
and Provost, Jagannath Hall, Dacca University).

I take the opportunity of the presentation of the Commemoration Volume to acknowledge publicly the deep debt of gratitude which I along with many other students of Dr. W. S. Urquhart, owe to our illustrious teacher who, after successfully instructing two generations of youth in Bengal, is retiring shortly from the Principalship of the Scottish Church College. Nearly a quarter of a century ago when I had the privilege of sitting as a learner of the abstruse topics of Philosophy, the Scottish Churches College, as it was then called, could boast of two outstanding teachers in that subject, namely, Dr. Henry Stephen and Dr. W. S. Urquhart. Both of them were subsequently honoured for their learning and character in their own homeland and in the land of their adoption. The one has since passed away but happily the other is still in our midst. Those were days of note-dictation and every teacher who wished to be helpful kept in mind the fact that the poor Indian students could not generally afford to buy the costly texts prescribed for their studies and he prepared summaries of difficult books and expositions of prescribed syllabuses. It was no easy matter to strike a middle path between dry dictation and glib talk, between useful records that are uninteresting to take down and interesting discourses that leave no lasting impression; but Dr. Urquhart would be long remembered as having achieved this miracle in his classes. A lucid writer and an impressive speaker, Dr. Urquhart was an ideal teacher of Philosophy; his written summaries and oral expositions left no student any chance of not understanding the contents of a book or a topic under discussion. The earnestness that is inseparable from missionary work he carried over into every branch of his activity and his impressive eloquence always commanded attention. But while he gave abundantly he was satisfied with a little in return and this made him an ideal examiner in the different Indian Universities where he was deservedly popular for understanding the linguistic difficulties of the examinees in Philosophy. He had always a good word to say in favour of his many pupils at the time of their need and he could take a justifiable pride in the fact that many, if not most, of the Philosophy teachers of Bengal had at one time or other been his students.

Although Dr. Urquhart never flagged in his zeal for spreading the message of Christ his cultured mind could quickly appreciate the value of the spiritual heritage of India and much of his intellectual output is based on his wide acquaintance with the religious and philosophical literature of India. Among thousands of his students professing diverse creeds he has never been known as an aggressive and intolerant missionary and where questions of carrying out a general policy of the Mission were not involved he has been scrupulously fair to his non-Christian students and has always tried to advance their interests. His tact and firmness in dealing with difficult and delicate situations in days of political upheaval have been universally praised; his wellknown sympathy with the political aspirations of Indian youths disarmed hostility even when he was obliged to admonish them for their excessive zeal. The enthusiasm that the annual reunion day evoked in the minds of the many men and women who had passed through the portals of the S. C. College was due to the unfeigned joy and unconstrained hospitality that Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart showed in receiving individually the numerous guests that used to throng on the occasion. The women of Bengal are specially grateful to him for having extended to them the privilege of instruction in his College and taking over the Training College education of women at Calcutta.

All parting is sad, but the consciousness that Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have been spared to return to their native land full of years and honours and to enjoy well-earned rest after a strenuous life dedicated to the intellectual, moral and spiritual welfare of the youths of Bengal will cause widespread gratification. In wishing them a happy voyage home the many men and women who have derived benefit from their life and learning will feel that they are losing a most acceptable pair of friends and well-wishers. They will feel a genuine regret that in those far-off days when the old teacher and his wife would bend with age in sunless Britain they would not be able to visit them in their quiet home and spend the evening by the fire-side in their company, talking of days when India was passing through the throes of a new birth and the women were just emerging from the seclusion of centuries. But they would remember with fond gratitude all that their teacher did for them and would pray to the Giver of all goods that He would crown a life of usefulness with the peace and contentment that a career well-run can alone bring.

R. R. THOMAS, ESQ., M.A., B.L., P.R.S.

Head of the Dept. of Philosophy and Logic,

Cotton College, Gauhati.

Writing about Dr. W. S. Urquhart one can hardly resist the temptation of dwelling on his scholarly and administrative capacities which have been exhibited by his high and too well-known achievements in life. But that temptation I must here resist and leave it to others to meet. As his pupil since 1910 and latterly his colleague till 1916, I would rather write on that aspect of his personality which can be known only by those who have come into personal and close contact with him. I refer to his great power of self-control which enabled him simply to pause and look in circumstances where many a man could not but burst himself with words of rage. It was this that commanded the respect of his pupils and colleagues. If man's greatness may be measured by the degree of self-control, then the name of Dr. Urquhart is in the galaxy of the blessed few at the top. He is a perfect gentleman and a beautiful soul. To be able to say this of him is the greatest tribute that can be paid to him, and it must give the greatest satisfaction to the one of whom it is said. This high tribute however is not meant for him alone, as men's greatness in this direction is undoubtedly and greatly determined by the kind of consort he has. The two beautiful souls, when, in their cold Western charming home, moments of loneliness betake them, will not fail to flit across the sky for consolation to the warm hearts of their oriental friends and admirers that they leave behind.

M. L. SIRCAR, ESQ., M.A.

Professor, Scottish Church College.

As Dr. Urquhart retires, my thoughts naturally turn to the days when I was a young student and Dr. Urquhart about a quarter of a century younger. I, with many other students, used to attend his "Bible Class" after "Service" in the Duff Church. His earnestness and sincerity made deep impression on all of us and his words carried conviction into our hearts. I need not dilate, of course, on the beautiful mode of his teaching which has been patent to all his students for 30 years or more. I simply want now to remind myself, as many others will be doing at this time, of the spiritual benefit I got out of his teaching, of the noble ideals he put before us, of the earnest prayers he used to have with us and for us.

The remembrance of the seeds he helped to sow in the minds of numerous persons in their early youth and the knowledge of those seeds being fruitful, will surely give him such joy and peace of mind as will make the part of the life which is before him, really happy.

DR. S. C. MITRA, M.A., D. PHIL. (Leipzig.)

University College of Science, Calcutta.

One of the fondest memories of almost every person in his after life is the memory of his student days. And I am inclined to think that it is likely to be the dearly cherished memory, had the person the good fortune of being a Scottish Churches College student. The atmosphere, the discipline, the many sided activities of the college, the social life there, all stimulate the various faculties of the new entrants in such a way that they go on developing themselves in an all-round way slowly but surely and sometimes even inspite of themselves. A harmonious development, the true aim of education, is only possible in an institution where a feeling of at-homeness and the confidence that deficiencies and shortcomings will be sympathetically considered and ways of improvement readily shown can be easily and naturally generated in the minds of the growing students. It is my conviction that the Scottish Church College stands pre-eminent in supplying this most favourable condition for the development of true manhood. The college does not confine itself to catering only to the one-sided intellectual development of its alumni—the University results will easily testify that it does not neglect this aspect—but in the guiding of the human materials under its care, it has its vision fixed to a much higher and nobler aim. It is constantly conscious of the fact that its duty is to prepare men who should not only be able to hold their own in the struggle that they will soon have to face, but by their own initiative should be competent to introduce changes in the ways and views of life and thereby contribute to the greater welfare of society a large. Students, while they are still students of the college, may not fully realise the benefits of the education that they are receiving, may not properly evaluate the subtle influences that are shaping their character, but these are patent, on a little reflection, to one who has passed out of its portals and has come face to face with the realities of life. It is for this reason that such a one feels no hesitation in deciding as to which college his wards will take admission when they pass the Matriculation Examination. I cannot resist the temptation of noting here with pride that my family is one which for three generations has been

trained in the Duff College, the General Assembly's Institution, and the Scottish Churches' College and whose young and adolescent members are still receiving their education at the S. C. College and the Collegiate School.

The question is how does the college manage to get such a firm hold on its alumni. The reason is not far to seek. It is the continuous succession of brilliant men, men in the proper sense of the term, who have taken charge of the institution that has created such a marvellous tradition of the college and spread its name throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. And it is due to the present incumbent of the post of the principal, who is on the verge of retirement and in whose honour the present volume is dedicated, that the name of the college has gone out beyond the borders of Bengal. It is due to Dr. Urquhart that the college is now recognised in every cultured province of India as an institution of hoary traditions but not irrationally conservative, faithful to the fundamental articles of its foundation, but not failing to appreciate and assimilate the changes, inevitably brought about in the modern outlook of life by the emergence everywhere of new ideals of thought and action.

I shall not list out the various services that have been rendered by Dr. Urquhart to the cause of education in Bengal and thereby to the progress of the province as a whole. Such a quantitative task is better left to recognised chronicles of events. What I feel is that it is the spirit in which these services were rendered, the unselfish and single-minded devotion to that which is dictated by an highly cultured and enlightened conscience to be Duty that has won for Dr. Urquhart the admiration of Bengal and has secured for him an everlasting place in the memory of every one of his students. It is his genuinely sympathetic understanding of the ideals and aspirations of young Bengal and his patently sincere efforts to guide those rising aspirations into proper channels that have singled out Dr. Urquhart from many other educationists of the day. Pestalozzi was a great and an eminently successful teacher in his time, not because of any deep erudition of his, but because he had an unbounded love for and an almost instinctive understanding of the difficulties and problems of the child mind. And when such an affection and such an appreciation are coupled with high scholarly attainments, what we have is a Dr. Urquhart. What young

soul is there who can resist such a personality? Who can help establishing a bond of personal relationship with him? Those are the elements which constitute the secret of Dr. Urquhart's greatness. It has been exemplified again and again in all his activities whether within the narrower precincts of his college or in the wider sphere of the University. His persistent endeavours to help and stimulate the students, not by the usual method of keeping rigorously aloof and ponderously giving advice—the transcendental method, if I may call it—but by fully identifying himself with them and gently leading them on, found a ready response in the hearts of the latter. The unsettled political condition of the province created for some time difficult situations for the authorities of all Educational Institutions. The Principal of an well-known institution is said to have remarked in those days that "An European Principal in an Indian Institution is now an anachronism." But the sympathetic policy which Dr. Urquhart followed on these occasions and the cool courage that he displayed in going against the methods of meeting opposition usually adopted by authorities fully revealed him as a real friend, philosopher, and guide of young Bengal. His words and actions at the time of these occurrences may well serve as an example to all Heads of educational institutions. His policy was successful because his behaviour with his students throughout was such that they never got any opportunity of being reminded that he was an alien. They always felt that he was one of them and wholly with them. To establish such personal relationship between the teacher and the taught is a task of no mean difficulty for any foreign teacher in these days. But to Dr. Urquhart the task seemed to have presented no difficulty at all. With the greatest ease and quite unostentatiously he established rapport with his students. Because of these personal ties between the teachers and the learners the Scottish Church College stands nearer to our ancient educational institutions where the disciple used to live during his period of training with his Guru.

But if Dr. Urquhart has deservedly won the hearts of Bengali students, Mrs. Urquhart has not remained behind. She has freely mixed with the students and has helped them in all their extra-academical work for the social uplift. Her keen interest in the Workingmen's Institute will ever be remembered by all who have worked for the Institute. Her fluency in the Bengali language, her appreciation of the

"Poetry of Indian manners" testify to the degree to which she identified herself with our mothers and sisters. The lady students of the present day find her to be their best friend and guide and it is as much to her credit as to Dr. Urquhart that the new experiment in co-education has been so eminently successful in the Scottish Church College.

Their imminent departure from our midst casts a gloom of sadness on us all. But let us not be selfish. Far away from their native land they have spent the best period of their active life amongst us and have ungrudgingly devoted all their time, energy, and attainments to the cause of the uplift of Mother Bengal. After their strenuous labour extending over thirty-five years they certainly deserve rest and a quiet life. We should not begrudge them the peace that they have so eminently earned for themselves. At this parting hour we should only humbly request them to forget and forgive any thoughtless activities on our part that might have caused them pain even for a moment and take away with them only the pleasant memories of their stay with us. We assure them, if that assurance is needed, that his students, nay grateful Bengal will ever cherish their memories with love and pride. With heavy hearts and earnest prayers that they may yet continue for a long time to enjoy their peaceful life and the blessings of God, we tender them our respectful Namaskars.

B. R. SEN ESQ., I.C.S.

District Magistrate and Collector, Maldah, Bengal.

Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart leave behind them a large circle of friends and admirers such as it is the good fortune of few to have. Their departure from this country will however be a loss not to their friends and admirers alone. For they belong to that small band of selfless workers who since Destiny has brought India in close contact with Britain have striven to give of the best of Britain to India. Through all the doubts and passions of the conflict of cultures and interests that the relations of Britain and India have been subject, their serenity of mind and love for India have remained unaffected. Above all, they have held up before us an example of life consecrated to duty and service.

MRS. TATINI DAS, M.A.,

Principal, Bethune College, Calcutta.

As I sit down to pen a few lines in sincere admiration of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart the first thing that arrests my attention is memory of those good old days when, as a student of the Post-Graduate classes in Philosophy of the year 1918-19 I had to, along with my friend Mrs. Manisha Roy, go over to the Scottish Church College in order to attend Dr. Urquhart's University lectures on the subject of Philosophy of Religion. That was a time when co-education on the present scale was unknown at the University or the Scottish Church College, and the microscopic minority of women students that used to join institutions, preponderately masculine in composition, would be regarded as so many social curios. Consequently, we two women students of the year were very much in need of protection from hundreds of scanning eyes. I can never forget the paternal care and solicitude with which Dr. Urquhart would escort us every day to the class and out of it at the end of the hour. Likewise inside the class-room itself, he would never allow himself to forget that there were two women students who required special protection against offensive gazing or any other kind of embarrassment. I leave, however, the ethics of this chaperonage to be discussed by the progressives or goaheads on the one hand and conservatives or "back numbers" on the other; but I must say that such protection had atleast and historical justification in making us feel perfectly at home in somewhat strange and uncomfortable surroundings.

While recounting my experience of these days, I am reminded of a little incident which I cannot help mentioning in this context. As he was lecturing one day to his class Dr. Urquhart happened to notice the rays of the afternoon sun gliding through the skylight and falling on my head. I was unaware of the fact myself; but as soon as it attracted his notice Dr. Urquhart rose from his seat forthwith to draw down the shutter. It may be a small thing in itself hardly meriting recognition, far less remembrance. To me, however, it bespoke, as it does even now, a largeness of heart which deserved to be treasured always in grateful remembrance.

As a teacher of youth, Dr. Urquhart has always appeared to me the very best model to emulate. I do not propose to say anything, by way of appreciation, about Dr. Urquhart as a public man, as a Principal, or even as a Vice-Chancellor; for the attempt to do so may be deemed somewhat presumptuous on my part. But there is no denying the fact that in each of these spheres of his activity he has left the permanent impress of his personality upon every office held by him in his eventful career. Our generation at least cannot afford to ignore or belittle that impression.

Speaking about Dr. Urquhart one is naturally led to think of his gifted wife, Margaret M. Urquhart, who has assisted her husband in all his varied public activities, inspired by an ideal of spiritual comradeship which is really an example to many of our generation.

Having lived a life of exemplary unselfishness and charity, in St. Paul's sense of the term, Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have earned our gratitude and a hard-won leisure which Dr. Urquhart at least has never enjoyed through-out the period of his active service in Bengal. A few days hence they will be leaving the shores of India, the motherland of their adoption, for the land of their birth; but they will be leaving a void in our hearts which I am sure, it will not be possible to fill for years to come.

S. P. BISWAS Esq., M.A.
Professor, Scottish Church College
and
Secretary, S. C. College Senatus.

I came to join the Post-graduate Class through the Scottish Churches College in 1918. On the first Sunday after my arrival here in Calcutta I went to attend the Morning Service of Duff Church. The preacher, a European—lean and tanned in appearance and with eyes bright and keen—delivered his sermon—a sermon which I still remember for its spiritual intensity and remarkable eloquence. On enquiry about the preacher's identity I came to know that he was no other than Dr. W. S. Urquhart of the Scottish Churches College.

At the close of the service, the Pastor of the Church to whom I was known personally introduced me to Dr. Urquhart. This first impression soon deepened into a feeling of admiration for this great man. The more I saw of him as a teacher of Religion in the Post-graduate class and in Duff Church Bible class, the greater was my respect for him as a man and as a teacher.

Later I had frequent occasions to come in closer personal touch with Dr. Urquhart as his colleague on the Philosophy staff of the S. C. College, as superintendent of Duff Church Sunday School and as secretary of the College Senatus. I found him to be a man of action as well as a thinker—practical and thorough in his work even to the details and yet never losing sight of larger perspectives or of the world of ideals.

In spite of heavy work—often exacting and sometimes overwhelming—I never found him lose his self-control ; and I can recall many instances when his patience and calmness in the face of trying problems helped us to regain our mental balance and equilibrium. Though he was in a superior position himself, he never made one feel that one's opinion was not wanted or appreciated. Such was his innate courtesy and respect for an individual.

Like a true educationist he believed in the principles of self-development and self-expression for which he gave his own students and others ample scope and opportunities even though sometimes for doing that he himself had to face adverse criticism. Like a practical Philosopher he never judged an action as divorced from its motive and this made him kindly and understanding though he was quite a shrewd judge of human nature.

I found in Dr. Urquhart a valuable friend and guide and for me his departure means a personal loss. But I feel assured that seas cannot separate nor distance prove to be a barrier between those who are bound by ties of friendship and affection.

S. C. DUTT, Esq., M.A., B.L.

Professor, Scottish Church College.

Dr. Urquhart is shortly going to retire from his service in the College. May he enjoy "otium cum dignitate," honoured and respected by his numerous friends and admirers.

My mind travels back more than a score of years. I remember quite distinctly the first impression I had of him. I was in school, in the Scripture class. Dr. Urquhart paid a visit to our school. We were nervous, but eagerly looking forward to his visit. When he entered the class room our nervousness vanished. Here was a small, thin man with a humorous twinkle in his eyes who made us feel quite at home. He put some questions to us. I was sitting in one of the front benches and he asked me if I had got any prize. As luck would have it, I had won a prize in Scripture that year. I leave it to the imagination of the reader to guess with what pride and exultation I answered him in the affirmative!

I recall another incident which made a deep impression on me. I was travelling by train. I had a tall, bulky Punjabi travelling with me in the same compartment. We fell into conversation in course of which I told him that I was educated in Scottish Church College. "That's Dr. Urquhart's College, isn't it?" he asked briskly. Of course he did not—very few people do—pronounce his name properly! What of that? His question made me realise the tremendous popularity enjoyed by Dr. Urquhart. It is significant. How often do we hear our College being called Dr. Urquhart's College in our Province and in other Provinces as well!

Such reputation is the out-come of years of ungrudging toil in the cause of education in India. Dr. Urquhart belongs to the illustrious group of Scottish Missionary-educationists who by their untiring and self-less devotion to the noble work of education in India, have laid her under a deep and eternal debt of gratitude. When the history of education in India is written their names ought to be inscribed in letters of gold.

As a teacher Dr. Urquhart brings his scholarship, wide sympathy and wonderful powers of exposition to bear upon his work. His fluency

and sense of humour hold his students spell-bound. He can create an interest for the subject in his students and communicate to them something of his own enthusiasm. He is never happier than in his Bible class where his earnestness, fervour and sincerity never fail to make a deep impression on the students. He understands, what many foreign teachers unfortunately do not, the importance of establishing contact with the students out-side the class room. His wide experience as a teacher in Bengal has given him a thorough insight into the psychology of the emotional Bengali student. His courtesy and sympathy, his keen sense of humour and perfect understanding of the mentality of students, soon were down the reserve of the shyest student who thus opens out his heart to him and finds in him a sympathetic listener. He is indeed a friend and well-wisher of the students.

I recall, not without a feeling of horror, the dark days of 1930, when the Calcutta Colleges were passing through a crisis. It was Dr. Urquhart's wonderful patience, buoyancy and sympathy which helped the College to tide over the difficulty. He is modest and unostentatious but he has the courage of conviction—a conviction which is born of his deep faith in religion. He always reminds me of the lines of the French philosopher.... "Il n'y a que religion qui rende les hommes brave, patients par conscience; et si l'on était fidele a la religion, l'on serait invincible."

Dr. Watt introduced co-education in our College. Dr. Urquhart has encouraged it whole-heartedly. It is through the joint efforts of Dr. & Mrs. Urquhart that it has attained its present popularity and magnitude. Mrs. Urquhart has always proved herself to be a real help-mate to her husband. Her wonderful fluency in Bengali gives her an advantage over Dr. Urquhart and enables her to mix freely with the women students. She invites them to tea often and always tries to make them feel at home.

It was a matter of great satisfaction to us when Dr. Urquhart's services to education in Bengal were recognised, and he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. I believe he was the first Teacher Vice-Chancellor of the University. His work in the University was, as usual thorough but unobtrusive and won the admiration of those who worked with him.

Dr. Urquhart's innate gentlemanliness, affability and unassuming manners have endeared him to a large circle of friends, Indians and Europeans, and he is one of the most popular figures in Calcutta to-day.

Dr. & Mrs. Urquhart's departure from India will leave a gap in the College which can never be filled up. In fact, we can not believe that they are going away for good. While wishing them "bon voyage" we earnestly hope that it is "Au revoir" and not "adieu."

M. N. BANERJEE ESQ., M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

(Sometime Professor of Philosophy, S. C. College.)

My acquaintance with Dr. Urquhart dates back to the year 1918. I was a student of his in the B.A. Classes of the Scottish Churches College (as the College was then called). My admission to this College is an illustration of the proverb—"Man proposes but God disposes"—for I had applied to the Presidency College for admission with Honours in Economics. I was selected and, I believe, a card was sent me asking the payment of admission and college fees. This I left on my table at home but my bearer, thinking it was of no consequence,—threw it away. I was very sore when I discovered this, and the very next day, I went to the Presidency College and I think it was the Head Clerk who bluntly told me I couldn't get an admission without the card. I am afraid I wasn't very polite either and I told him I didn't care very much either to find the card or seek, further, an admission there. Coming out of that College I mounted a passing tram car for Cornwallis Square and very confidently walked into the Principal's room of the Scottish Churches College. In the tram car I had thought over the subject which I should read here. The name of Dr. Urquhart, Professor of Philosophy, at once suggested to my mind a change from Economics to Philosophy. Within two minutes of my presenting myself before Dr. Watt, then Principal, I was admitted as a student. That is how I came to be a student of Dr Urquhart in his Philosophy Classes, Pass and Honours.

It did not take me long to realise that my choice of the College and the subject was right. For we, Dr. Urquhart's Philosophy students, were very soon convinced that we had entered upon a heritage of which we could be legitimately proud. And proud we were, each one of us, as, day in and day out, we watched from our places of repose in the Central Hall the frail figure of Dr. Urquhart bent under the load of books he carried, approaching his class-room. His scholarly gait, his calm face, his kindly eyes and his good-humoured smile predisposed us in his favour and in the class-room when he began his lecture, we heard him with rapt attention. He had a manner of speaking and a way of presenting his subject which made

the most profound impression upon our young minds. I remember very well how missing even one of his lectures was considered by us as nothing short of a calamity!

In those days Philosophy was a very popular subject and those who wanted to drink at its wells came to the east of Cornwallis Square. For probable winners of University laurels the student-world of Bengal looked up to the alumni of this College. Even to think of gaining distinction in Philosophy without a training here was an anathema. Often mention of one or two names of "outsiders" as likely prize-boys was met by us with a disdainful smile. These unfortunate "Out siders" almost invariably "also ran", "places" almost always going to the "thoroughbreds" here. And "upsets" were a rare phenomenon indeed!

To me personally Dr. Urquhart has been uniformly kind over a very long period. In the class room, in the College Philosophical Society and on the staff of the College for sometime as his colleague, I have been always met by a kindly smile and a courteous consideration. These I have come to associate in my mind with Dr. Urquhart.

I heard the other day somebody remark that Dr. Urquhart was fashioned more as a teacher than a preacher. I have not had the privilege of listening to many of his sermons but to us, his students in the class-rooms, he was a teacher who in the work of teaching showed an earnestness and devotion few preachers are capable of. And in fact—what struck us most, as his students, was the deep note of sincerity in his lectures upon Ethics and Religion. It would not be an exaggeration to say that to his students in the class-room he could make the dead bones of Metaphysic rattle with life.

As his colleague for nearly four years on the staff of the College I have had occasion to watch Dr. Urquhart as Principal at close quarters. He showed his mettle during a particularly anxious time in the life of the College. To most of us during the Civil Disobedience days he appeared to be weak and vacillating. It was not weakness but the virtues of discretion, tact and self-confidence which he then showed in abundance. The writer's brother, then a leader of "patriotic" students in the University, one afternoon, stormed the College Hall with his following and defying the Authorities addressed the students on the uncertain virtues of completely breaking away from their studies. While

this was going on, somebody telephoned me elsewhere to come and interfere. I told him off, feeling confident, in my mind, that the Principal was quite up to the mark and did not require the intervention of a brother in the cause of discipline. And well was my confidence justified when later I heard from the "victors" as they called themselves that although the College fell before their onslaught that day the cool courage of the Principal and his firm hold over the student-mind eventually turned the "victory" into a welcome defeat.

I cannot conclude this humble tribute to Dr. Urquhart without expressing my admiration and regard for his gifted wife. Although I have not had the honour and privilege of knowing Mrs. Urquhart intimately I have, in common with others, noticed how she has incessantly worked for the welfare of the women of Bengal. Her intimate knowledge of the Bengali language and the Bengali women, her constant solicitude for their progress have evoked praise from all quarters.

One or two flashes of kindness to me personally has revealed to my mind the largeness of her heart and her kindness. I may be pardoned for mentioning one such kindness. I met Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart in the summer of 1933 in London. They were returning to Calcutta from a furlough and we met at Waterloo Station whence they were taking the boat train to Southampton. She made kind enquiries about my wife who was in Calcutta then. "O," she said as the train steamed off, "I must meet her and tell her I have met you and that you are all right." And she kept her word. In itself very trifling but it is from such trifling incidents that a person's true nature can be known. No wonder those who have known her have deeply admired her kindness, sweetness and simplicity.

I hope both Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart will have many more years of happy and useful life in their native country.

BIVACOR DAS ESQ., M.A.

Professor, Bankura College.

Unbroken continuity of association for sixteen long years as a student with the Scottish Church Collegiate School and College right from the lowest rung of the educational ladder, is in a way a rare distinction and I treasure it as such. This fact has largely prompted me as a representative of thorough "Scottish" students to bring my tribute to Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart on the eve of their departure from India.

It was as a very young pupil of the Scottish Church Collegiate School and a member of Duff Church Sunday School that I first came to know the name of Dr. W. S. Urquhart and I regarded him for long years with a sort of reverential awe and wonder, inspite of the fact that he was rather intimately known to three generations of our family.

Later as a student of the Scottish Church College and a member of Dr. Urquhart's well-known Bible class and his Evening Study Circle, I had greater opportunities of coming into closer and more personal touch with the great scholar missionary and my feeling of awe soon changed into that of affectionate regard blended with a great admiration. The reason for this change is simple. He has a way of winning the confidence and affection of a young man ; he knows how to draw a person out of himself and put him completely at his ease by his ready patience and sympathetic understanding of his ideas and views.

Charm of manners, cheerfulness and sympathy, keen sense of humour, even temper and fine tactfulness, strong common sense and high idealism—all these attractive qualities of his magnetic personality have drawn the spontaneous admiration and affection and regard of his students, who are now a legion. So he has come to have a unique hold on the student community of Bengal, which is also in a large measure due to his greatness as a teacher. Inspiring, would in a word best describe the nature of his teaching. And I know it as a fact that many students in my time joined the Scottish Church College and its Philosophy class only to have the cherished privilege of having Dr. Urquhart as their teacher, and I believe students think that way still.

To think of Dr. Urquhart is also to think of Mrs. Urquhart, who apart from being his worthy help-meet, has a claim to our regard and affection

for her keen interest in the welfare of the students and for adding charm and brightness to the social life and activities of the College by her presence. She has always taken a special interest in the women students of the College and largely for her helpfulness and tactful guidance co-education in the College has become a success.

As Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart bid farewell to this land which has received much from them and given them much in return in the shape of affection, friendship and honour, we, his students would like to assure them that they have bequeathed much to us that we will not willingly let die.

MISS MRINALINI BONNERJEE, M.A.

Professor, Bethune College, Calcutta.

The work that has been done by Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart for the Student Community and the various charitable organisations in India has been set forth in this book by abler pens than mine. I feel that on the eve of their departure for Scotland the only tribute I can pay is to put on record my sense of personal gratitude to Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart.

I was a student of the Scottish Church College from 1929 to 1931. Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart were exceedingly kind to me during these two years.

A fact that struck me very forcibly was that Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart never seemed to be too busy to attend to any individual student who made demands on their time. Both Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart had many activities apart from College work but they always found time to help any student with their advice, and many students availed themselves of this opportunity and discussed their problems with the Principal and his wife.

Mrs. Urquhart always took a keen interest in the women students and she used to set apart one or two days in the week for the purpose of entertaining them. Any one who has had the good fortune to have been present at one of these gatherings will always remember Mrs. Urquhart's lavish hospitality and great kindness.

Dr. Urquhart constantly kept in touch with students even after they had left College and was keenly interested in their careers and was willing to help them in every way.

Nobody will grudge Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart their well earned rest in Scotland after their strenuous and devoted work here; but every one who knows them hopes that they will come again to India in the not very distant future. Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart have worked so hard and so ungrudgingly in India for so many years that they have earned the respect and love of her people.

It is impossible for me to do justice to the great qualities of Dr. and Mrs. Urquhart. I am reminded of some lines of Francis Thompson which are singularly appropriate here

"If the rose in meek duty
May dedicate humbly
To her grower the beauty
Wherewith she is comely;
If the mine to the miner
The jewels that pined in it
Earth to diviner
The springs he divined in it

.....
Their lives if all livers
To the Life of all living
To you O dear givers
I give your own giving."

MISS ANJALI DAS, M.A.

Lecturer, Bethune College, Calcutta.

For over thirty-five years Dr. W. S. Urquhart, the Principal of The Scottish Church College has been in close touch with young men and women of Bengal. His invaluable services for the cause of education can never be over-estimated. Though he is now leaving us, his influence will continue to inspire many, who are in the same way devoted to the service of our country.

There will be 'reunions and College-days' again, but he will not be there to greet us with his smiles. No more shall we sit with him in the College Hall listening to his talks and proud comments on the achievements of the students of his college. Things will go on as before, we shall in time become used to his absence—but his memory will be cherished by many in this country with gratitude and respect.

He shall always be honoured as a great missionary, a social worker and above all, a great educationist, one who has devoted the greater part of his life for the uplift and improvement of a nation calling for service from such selfless men as he. Dr. Urquhart like many is entitled to this great praise 'that he has devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he has neither blood nor language neither religion nor manners in common.' But the ties that bind him to our country are stronger and more deep-rooted—they are the spiritual and intellectual ties, that do not respect the artificial barriers of creed or nationality, time or space.

As Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the Principal of one of the premier colleges of Bengal, he has come into contact with thousands of students. He has enjoyed the difficulties of the situations to the full and we cannot but think of him as the friend of the student community of Bengal. The sympathetic understanding and infinite patience which he has always displayed in his dealings with the students have endeared him to all. These strike us more forcibly when we look back to the days of 1930, full of unrest and turmoil and the general tendency to flout authority every where. Even in those difficult days, never once did we see him waver in his attitude of trust and tolerance. He understood better than any one else, the

psychology of young minds, and was thus able to command authority and at the same time, be tolerant towards their faults and short-comings. The rare gift of intelligent vision with which he is endowed, his faith in the ultimate good sense of the students, his reliance on their sense of fair-play have earned for him a popularity among students, undreamt of, in the case of any other foreigner in this country.

This is perhaps the cause of the success of co-education in his college, inspite of opposition from various quarters. This also perhaps accounts for all that he has been able to achieve for the cause of education in this country.

No appreciation of Dr. Urquhart's services can be adequate without a befitting tribute to Mrs. Urquhart as well. Apart from her many-sided activities in the various spheres of life, our gratitude is specially due to her for the valuable assistance and guidance, which she always extended towards us—the women students of the college. It may be said of Dr. and Mr. Urquhart that—"they found the field of labour so large and life so full, that every moment was seized in order to yield its tribute of result."

P. C. MAITRA, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

A simple Christian, in the manner of his outer life yet in spirit, a disciple of the prophets of all ages, an interpreter of the Eternal and Historical Christ, yet the propounder of the Vedantist thought of the ancient glorious India, a Professor of Philosophy and Logic, yet guided in his spiritual life by faith and intuition—such is William Spence Urquhart.

It is not for me to speak of his varied achievements, as Professor of Philosophy, as Principal, as the Head of a Missionary Organisation, as the Fellow and Member of the Syndicate and Vice-Chancellor of the greatest University of Asia where for many years he gave his life's best.

Although a Professor of Ethics and Metaphysics, emotion and sentiment occupied a large part in his life, and for this trait in his character the Bengali mind was attracted to him most. His lectures in the Bible classes were even more interesting than his lectures in Philosophy classes. But what attracted him most to the Bengali student was his richness of heart for which his name is a household word among the educated community.

"Path of Duty is a path of glory"—that is the supreme motto of his life. He wanted to lead a dedicated life, a life of service and sacrifice in the cause of education in Bengal where he spent long 35 years. Leaving the ancient walls of the Scottish Church College and its new annexe, which is his creation, the green Cornwallis Square full of many a memory, and thousands of loving pupils, to whom he imparted knowledge he is proceeding to a distant land of snows and rough seas. May he live many more years to come and enjoy peace after a strenuous life of activity in our land in deference to the Biblical saying, "Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might."

APPENDIX

Members of Dr. Urquhart's Farewell Committee

Acharyya, Mr. S. K.
Auddy, Mr. K. C.
Banerjee, Mr. A. N.
Banerjee, Mr. S. N.
Banerjee, Rai Sahib A.
Bhattacharjee, Mr. H. D., *Dacca University*.
Banerjee, Mrs. B.
Banerjee, Mr. D., *Berhampur*.
Bonnerjee, Miss M.
Brahmachari, Sir U. N.
Bose, Mr. A. N.
Bose, Mr. Amiya Nath
Bose, Mr. N. K.
Bose, Mr. M.
Bose, Mr. R. K.
Bose, Miss R.
Bose, Mr. and Mrs. C. R.
Biswas, Mrs. S. P.
Bishop of Calcutta.
Cameron, Rev. A.
Chatterjee, Dr. S. C.
Chatterjee, Mr. P. B.
Chatterjee, Mr. R. N.
Chatterjee, Miss A.
Chakravarti, Miss K.
Chakravarti, Miss N.
Chanda, Miss B., *Cuttack*.
Das, Mr. and Mrs. P., *Mymensingh*.
Das, Mr. B., *Bankura*.
Das, Dr. and Mrs. S. K.

Das, Miss P.
 Das, Miss A.
 Dasgupta, Miss P., *Madaripur*.
 De, Rev. S. C.
 De, Mr. S.
 De, Mr. R.
 De, Mr. J. C.
 De Bahadur, Rai. H. C.
 Dowerah, Mr. J. N.
 Dutt, Mr. S. C.
 Dutt, Miss Saraswati
 Datta, Miss S.
 Ganguly, Mr. J.
 Ghatak, Mr. S., *Arrah*.
 Ghosh, Rai. M. L., *Chittagong*.
 Ghosh, Mr. S. C.
 Ghosh, Mr. T. P.
 Ghosh, Mr. N.
 Ghosal, Mr. S. N.
 Ghosh, Bahadur, Rai G. C.
 Ghosh, Bahadur, Rai Jnan C.
 Goenka, Sir B.
 Gorey, Mr. D.
 Guha, Mrs. U.
 Gupta, Sreejukta Ashoka, *Rajshahi*.
 Graham, Rev. Dr. J., *Kalimpong*.
 Halder, Miss. A. L., *Allahabad*.
 Hamilton, Sir Daniel, *Gosaba*.
 Hazra, Mr. R. C.
 Karr, Mr. S. K.
 Laik, Mr. N.
 Niogi, Mr. S.
 Nundy, Mr. C. C. *Darjeeling*.
 Pal, Mr. D. N.
 Pyne, Mr. J. K.
 Mazumder, Mr. A. B., *Gosaba*

Mazumder, Mr. S.
 Mazumder, Dr. S., *Naihati*.
 Mahalanobis, Mr. S. C.
 Maiti, Mr. H. P.
 McGillivray, Mr. D. G., *Britannia Building & Iron Co.*
 Moitra, Mr. P. C.
 Mitra, Dr. S. C.
 Mitra, Mr. S. N.
 Mitra, Mr. B. K. *Dhanbad*.
 Mitra, Mr. L. M.
 Mukherjee, Mr. S.
 Mukherjee, Mr. S. K.
 Mukherjee, Mr. B., *Uttarpara*.
 Mukherjee, Mr. R.
 Mukherjee, Mr. J. N.
 Mukherjee, Dr. H. C.
 Ray, Mr. N. C.
 Ray, Dr. P. N.
 Ray, Dr. H. C.
 Ray, Mr. A. C.
 Ray, Mrs. M.
 Ray, Miss K.
 Saha, Dr. B. B.
 Sanyal, Mr. S. K.
 Sen, Mr. K. D.
 Sen, Dr. S., *Andhra University*.
 Sen, Mr. J. M.
 Sen, Mr. H. N.
 Sen, Mr. B. R., *Maldah*.
 Sen Gupta, Mr. B. P.
 Sen Gupta, Miss B.
 Seine, Miss G. *Chittagong*.
 Singha, Mrs. S. E.
 Sircar, Mr. M. L.
 Suhrawardy, Sir H.
 Thomas, Mr. R. R., *Assam*.

Trivedi, Mr. N.

Mr. M. L. Chandra, *Hony. Treasurer.*

Mr. S. P. Biswas

Mr. M. N. Banerjee

}

Hony. Joint Secretaries.